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the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are aged 65 and over has increased by 1.5 million, and the number of people aged 75 and over by 1.2 million (Office of National Statistics 1999).

There is a growing awareness of the need to address the needs of older people in the community. The Department of Health (1999) has published a strategy for older people, which sets out a vision for the future of older people's services. The strategy is based on the following principles: older people should be able to live independently in their own homes; older people should be able to participate in the community; older people should be able to access the services they need; and older people should be able to live in a safe and secure environment.

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THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

THE
HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY
Étienne
E. U^{rain} BOUZIQUE,

A RETIRED MEMBER OF THE FRENCH LEGISLATURE AND THE FRENCH BAR
AUTHOR OF "LES SATIRES DE JUVENAL TRADUITES EN VERS FRANCAIS;" "THEATRE ET
SOUVENIRS," ETC.

*TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH ORIGINAL WITH
THE CONCURRENCE OF THE AUTHOR*

BY
JOHN R. BEARD, D.D.

"And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."—
JOHN viii. 32.

VOLUME I.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, LONDON & EDINBURGH.

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3 vol.

10-24-38 J.A.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE AUTHOR.

ETIENNER URSIN BOUZIQUE, the author of this "History of Christianity," was born at Châteauneuf-sur-Cher the 7th January 1801. He went through his preliminary culture in the College of Bourges, and studied jurisprudence in Paris. Admitted to the bar in Bourges, he consecrated his leisure to general literature, and published a translation into French verse of the eighth, tenth, and fourteenth "Satires of Juvenal" (Paris, 1825, 8vo). Afterwards he put forth the whole of them with the Latin in the opposite page. This well-executed and scholarly work, which appeared in 1843, and in a new edition in 1854, procured for him high literary repute. Prompted by his truly enlightened and liberal patriotism, both before and after the Revolution of 1830, which seated Louis Philippe on the throne of France, Mons. Bouzique formed part of the Radical opposition, and in 1833 was elected member of the General Council, in which he ceased not to combat the administration. In 1848 he was, by acclamation, appointed mayor of the city of Bourges, and elected representative of the constituent assembly with all but unanimity of the votes, the candidates being in number seven. A member of the Committee of Justice, he ordinarily voted with the moderate democratic party. After the election of the 10th of December, he took his stand in the ranks of the Republican opposition until the last days of the constituent assembly. Re-elected, the second over six, to the Legislature, he drew

near *La Montagne* in order to defend the Constitution against the Royalist majority of the Assembly, and against the policy of the Elysée. After the 2d December 1852, infamous for the *Coup d'Etat*, which issued in the clerically controlled despotism of Napoleon III., and against which Mons. Bouzique protested, he retired from the political arena, and giving himself up to specially religious and theological subjects, published his "History of Christianity," which is now submitted to the English reader. Already in 1857 he had put forth a volume of great value and interest, entitled "Theatre et Souvenirs." The title describes the greater portion of the matter. The former part of the volume contains two tragedies, "Servius Tullius," the latter "Les Dragonnades," illustrated by an historical essay which may be found in the Anti-Papal Library, translated into English.* From the few particulars thus given, the character of Mons. Bouzique may be learnt in its principal features. If we declare him a French *Puritan*, of a highly cultivated kind, the effect produced in the mind by the study of the following pages will justify the description.

* The Anti-Papal Library, No. 4, "The Dragonades of Louis XIV., or The Barbarous Atrocities of Romanism under Pope Innocent XI.," translated by John R. Beard, D.D. London: Smart & Allen, Paternoster Row.

P R E F A C E.

THE learned and accomplished author of this History of Christianity from its origin to the year 1870, has followed in the treatment of his subject a path of his own, which leads to positive and most satisfactory results. Profiting by the new lights thrown on antiquity by the study of the filiation of tongues and nations, he lays the foundation of his narrative in historical sketches of the principal oriental races, which are equally the hive of the world, the parent of its languages, and the source of its religions and superstitions. Having traced popular Christianity to its primal source, he has in his history of it only to present its natural results in the orthodoxies of the successive periods. These, instead of being "the Peculiar Doctrines of the Gospel," as they have been authoritatively called, are thus seen to be its corruptions and debasements. While this fact appears as an evident consequence, the author takes special pains to exhibit Jesus and his genuine followers in the light of their simple and transcendent glory, as well as in the greatness of their power, which becomes the more apparent as he draws near these "the times of Reformation," opening in the future a bright and gladdening prospect of the universal recognition of God's fatherhood and man's brotherhood, and the fulfilment of the divine will and purpose in the spread of "on earth peace, good will among men" (Luke ii. 14).

A theme so vast and so grand implicates particular directions of the narrative which are so fundamental and

important as to embrace to some extent the history of the world in its more important relations. Accordingly this History of Christianity is in reality a history of civilisation in its chief constituent elements. How literally this is true the reader may learn by carefully perusing and minutely analysing the author's Table of Contents, which we subjoin, in what he designates "Summaries."

The spirit of the work may be learnt from the motto which stands in the title page, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" (John viii. 32). The book is anything but controversial. It is as rigidly deductive as Euclid's Geometry. Starting from certain prolific facts, the writer simply narrates what they naturally and necessarily bring forth from the matrix of humanity. Hence the narration, true at first, remains true to the end. As thus true, it embodies God's thought, while it reports man's uses and abuses of that sublime reality. Accordingly the work is as simple and natural as it is instructive and impressive. No passion, no meretricious ornament, no secondary aim, no personal end.

As is the spirit, so is the style of these volumes, conciseness and lucidity are their characteristics. They consist of a successive string of sentences alike pithy and lucid, so that, had they been written in cyphers, their meaning could not be clearer or more striking and impressive. They conciliate belief even by the absence of pretension.

Such a work is of the greater value if only because histories of Christianity are generally facsimiles of partizan aims and interpretations. Here at last is

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY ITSELF

made the more clear and the more acceptable, because the abuses and corruptions which the spirit of the world engrafted on the spirit of Jesus are presented by its side.

Men and women, the young as well as the old, will welcome the volumes because they offer a living picture of God's great realities as embodied in his son and his son's followers, and as divinely designed to be the light and the bread of life to mankind. Without reservation, without qualification, the work may be put into the hands of all ages and all classes. Adapted to the scholar it is not less intelligible to the peasant.

The work has a speciality which recommends it in the present state of the religious world. Speaking the truth throughout, it speaks the truth in regard to the papacy. Here the student may find the papacy depicted in its own colours. Founded in falsities, it is seen to be built up of shadows, assumptions, and exaggerations. These are here exposed under the strong light of historical fact. The task dispassionately accomplished, leaves on the mind convictions the deepest and most prevailing, which carry the reader back from Rome to the uplands of Galilee and the quickening presence of the great religious Teacher of the world.

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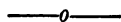
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HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.



INTRODUCTION.

SUMMARY—The Ancient Forms of Worship—Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mazdaism or Zoroasterism, Chaldæism, Osirism, Hellenism, Mosaism—The Roman Empire in the time of Augustus.

THE history of Christianity is perhaps that which is least read ; it is certainly that which it most concerns us to know.

It is not easy to explain this inattention when one reflects on the importance of religious systems for the future of human societies, to say nothing of the life to come. Religion is man's educator, his counsellor, and his guide every moment of his career ; from it does he receive in infancy those primary notions which remain engraven in indelible characters. The majority learn nothing else in the whole course of their life. Others with more instruction take little or no care to verify received doctrines ; it seems more convenient to them it may be to admit all or to reject all without examination, it may be to pass through existence in unconcerned doubt, sure in the decline of age, to be re-occupied with the ideas on which their early days were nursed.

Religion supplies the mould in which the political condition of a nation is cast. There is no moral progress with superstitious forms of worship, which live only by the infatuation of the multitude. There is no liberty with sacerdotal castes of which the organisation, the doctrines, the traditions are a continued system of despotism for the chiefs and of servitude for the people.

You cannot understand the history of the first centuries of Christianity, the phases through which it passed, the heresies which sprang up around it, the changes which it underwent, unless you first make yourself acquainted with the anterior or contemporaneous doctrines and religions. Nothing is insulated in the destinies of our race ; it is by the past that the present is explained and the future unveiled. Most of the ancient forms of worship seem to be derived from a common origin. You find in that common origin, with some slight exceptions, the same theogonies, the same cosmogonies, the same religious institutions.

Mosaism, although distinguished from the rest by the purity of its conceptions, nevertheless took from them divers ceremonies and ordinances. In the last ages preceding the Christian era the Israelites, brought into contact with other nations by the captivity and by voluntary dispersion, adopted, under the influence of traditions and commentaries of old unknown, opinions which their sacred books do not contain, or at least do not declare in an explicit manner.

Christianity in its turn coming, in its earliest days, forth from Judea to establish itself in the midst of polytheistic populations, failed to keep itself free from the influence of that medium ; in the degree in which it spread abroad it borrowed more or less according to the position of each Church or each group of Churches, from their philosophy, their rites, their superstitions.

BRAHMANISM.

Modern philology has by a comparison of their languages ascertained that the Persians and the superior castes of India were of the same family as most of the European nations. Their common ancestors, who are designated under the name of Aryans, inhabited the interior of Asia, whence the nations of Europe, namely the Greeks, Latins, Iberians, Gauls, Germans, Slaves, came successively, at epochs that are lost in the night of time. The other tribes of the same race, or the Aryans properly so called, after having long sojourned in Central Asia, saw, about 2500

years before Christ, rise among them religious dissensions on occasion of the reforms of Zoroaster, embraced by these, combatted by those. The adversaries of the new worship ended by emigrating in the direction of the south-east ; for several centuries they dwelt in the Punjaub, exposed to divers vicissitudes, and then progressively spread over the lands of India. Among them sprang up the religion of Brahma.

In the Brahmanic religion you find three principal phases, each of which has its own religious writings. The first, which came to an end fifteen centuries before our era, corresponds to the time which preceded the conquest of India by the Aryans. The Vedas are its sacred books. The second opens after those people had taken possession of India ; it has for its revealed code the *Laws of Manu*, who is supposed to have lived in the tenth or ninth century before Christ. In the third, which commenced a century or two after the second, appears the Brahmanic trinity (or Trimurti) and the divine incarnations (Avatars) ; the sacred books bear the name of Puranas. In the days of the earliest hymns of the Vedas the Aryans still live in the patriarchal state. The head of the family is at once priest and warrior. Worship is paid to the gods of the elements, the forces of nature, who are classed into divinities of the sky, the air, the earth, and the sea. After the conquest of India, followed by the establishment of castes, those gods are subordinated to a supreme being. Then appear the Laws of Manu, which contain a complete theogonic and cosmologic system, as well as a thorough classification of Indian society.

The idea of a Nature-God, whence all things proceeded by successive emanations, the transmigration of souls, the hereditary castes, which are consecrated in this book, as well as the trinity, and the incarnations which the Brahmins admitted at a later time, are unknown to the religion of the Vedas.

Those opinions came from the nations which before the Aryans occupied the districts of the Indus and the Ganges, peoples possessing a civilisation much more advanced than theirs, and which affinities of origin and worship connect

with the Egyptians and the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia. Let us trace a rapid outline of the doctrines of Manu. Brahm or Svayambhu (the self-existent) is one, infinite, eternal, incomprehensible. He is the beginning and the end of all things. In him all is born, subsists, and dissolves. Smaller than an atom, greater than the universe, he takes innumerable forms and acts in an infinitude of manners. His subtle and indivisible essence penetrates the bodies of the highest and the lowest creatures.

The universe reposes in the supreme soul. That soul produces the series of acts performed by animated beings. From its substance proceed numberless vital principles like sparks of fire, which ceaselessly communicate movement to all creation. At first every thing was in darkness, without sensible form (Gen. i. 2), without distinct attributes, and, as it were, in a deep sleep. The Supreme Being appears and his splendour dissipates the obscurity. He produces the waters and in them deposits a germ which becomes an egg, brilliant as gold. In that egg Brahm himself is born, under the form of Brahma, the great ancestor of all worlds. After a year of inaction, Brahma divides the egg, and of the two parts his word forms heaven and earth, the atmosphere which separate them, the eight regions and the permanent abyss of the waters. Then he gives existence to all beings, assigning to each creature a distinct name and different functions and duties.

Brahma produces a multitude of gods (Devas) with active attributes and pure souls, a number of genii of an elevated order (Sadhyas), and the eternal sacrifice. For the accomplishment of this sacrifice he draws from fire, air, and the sun, three Vedas, the Rig, the Yadjuch, and the Sama.

He creates time and its divisions, the constellations, the planets, the rivers, the seas, the mountains, the plains, the valleys ; austere devotion, the Word, and pleasure, desire, anger, and finally all the beings to which he wishes to give existence.

For the propagation of the human species, he produces from his mouth the Brahman (priest), from his arm the

Shatriya (warrior), from his thigh the Vāishya (merchant, artizan, agriculturist), and from his foot the Sudra (serf). The Sudras were the descendants of the old brown population which the Aryans reduced into servitude.

All the creation, then, emanates from the Supreme Being, but that emanation is not instantaneous and immediate: it takes place in a continuous and successive manner.

When he wishes to produce beings, Brahma, dividing his body into two parts, becomes half male and half female; the union of these two parts engenders Viradj, the divine male. Viradj, by the power of austere devotion, produces from himself *Manu*, surnamed Svayambhuva (issue of the self-existent one), from whom all proceeds. From the first *Manu*, six others are descended, each of which gave birth to a race of creatures. These seven Manus have, by turns, formed and directed the universe.

Now, *Manu Svayambhuva*, after the severest austerities, produces first ten eminent saints to whom is given the name of lords of creatures (*Pradjapatis*), as also to Brahma, Viradj, and *Manu*. The ten eminent saints create seven other Manus, the gods (*Devas*), and their abodes, sages endowed with immense power, the different tribes of *Pitris* (the divine ancestors of the gods, the genii, and men), the genii of all orders, and all the assemblage of moveable and immoveable beings. The Indian theogony is the hugest that is known. In the first rank stand the gods (*Devas*). The chief of them are the guardians of the eight regions of the universe (*Lokapalas*), that is to say, *Indra*, god of heaven; *Agni*, god of fire; *Yama*, god of hell; *Surya* or *Arka*, god of the sun; *Varuna*, god of the waters; *Anila Vayu*, or *Pavana*, god of the winds; *Kuvera*, god of riches; *Tchandra*, or *Soma*, god of the moon. The gods chose *Indra* for king of heaven (*Swarga*, abode of the gods and the blessed). He has for weapon the rainbow, and his body is covered with a thousand eyes, which are the stars. He holds his court with his spouse on Mount *Meru*. In that court, whose entrance is guarded by the two *Asvins*, you meet a multitude of genii of the retinue of *Indra*; myriads of nymphs

of celestial musicians, divine birds of which Garuda is the chief. The reign of Indra is temporary, and ends at one of the periods of Manu, then he is replaced by that of the gods, the Asuras or men who have best deserved that honour. The other guardians of the eight regions have also each a wife, a court, and genii in their retinue. The Yakshas (Gnomes) guard the treasures of Kuvera ; musicians, with the head of a horse, are attached to his service. Varuna, god of the waters, is at the same time god of chastisement ; he retains the wicked at the bottom of his abysses, where they are surrounded with chains made of serpents. Yama has under his orders, in hell, governors for the different regions of his empire (patolas), and ministers of his justice. After the guardians of the eight regions come other orders of gods, namely, the twelve Adityas, who preside over the twelve months of the year, among whom are Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Vishnu ; the last is the most eminent of the Adityas.

The eight Vasus, of whom Vishnu also makes part.

The eleven Rudras, who have at their head, Hara—with whom, in later times, Siva is confounded.

The ten Viswadevas (assembled gods) and the two Asvins.

Ambrosia (Amrita), is the meat and drink of the gods ; it comes, it is said, from the foam of the sea, which the Devas and the Asuras have together produced in making use of Mount Mandara as a churning staff. These two orders of genii disputed with each other for the possession of the ambrosia, which became the property of the Devas. Below the last is a crowd of intermediate and inferior divinities, genii of all kinds, holy penitents, chiefs of races, and others. Each of them has its own offices ; some of them are good and propitious, others evil and maleficent. Let us mark out in the number :

The Asuras, who are in perpetual hostility with the Devas ; the traditions of the Vedas speak of a terrible war between them, in which the Devas obtained the victory only with the aid of the Creator's eldest son : (The fall of the angels.)

The Rakchasas, maleficent genii, of whom some are the gigantic enemies of the Devas, and the others, ogres or vampires greedy of blood and human flesh : (the devil and his angels).

The Pisatchas, another species of vampires.

The Nagas (dragons), demi-gods, having a human face and a serpent's tail ; they dwell in the infernal regions.

The Sarpas, serpents of an order inferior to the Nagas.

Other genii, of different ranks, fill the worlds. They people the heaven, the earth, the intermediate regions, all the parts of nature ; divinities of the forest who reside in the trees ; divinities of the mountains, the valleys, the rivers, the seas, the years, the seasons, genii of the Vedas, the stars, night, the winds ; legions of demi-gods with aërian chariots, dawns, auroras, infant gods born of virgins, &c. The total number of divinities amounts to hundreds of millions. Most of them are personifications of the heavens, the stars, the elements, other corporeal objects, the forces of nature. Attributes of the Supreme being, moral faculties are transformed into real and distinct beings, divinities that have their own life, their functions, their history, and who identify themselves with the universal soul whence they emanate ; thus Brahma is nothing but Brahm considered in his creative energy ; Manu, son of Brahma, is an incarnation of him in time and space ; thus also, toward the end of the tenth book of the Rig-Veda, you find a hymn in which Vatch (the Word), who proceeds from Brahma, glorifies himself and says, in terminating : " I penetrate all beings, I touch heaven with my form. In giving birth to all beings, I pass as the wind ; I am above heaven, beyond the earth ; and what the Great One is, that am I " (John 1). These myriads of divinities are honoured by the multitude in the superstitions of the grossest idolatry. But religious belief acquires purity and greatness in the thought of the sages. Notwithstanding an apparent polytheism, the most absolute unity is none the less the basis of the doctrine taught in the laws of Manu. From the unique being, the world-god, they in thought detach his diverse attributes, his distinct parts, which become so many divi-

nities emanated from him, and from whom others emanate in their turn ; then this infinity of emanations falling back, the one on the other, return to lose themselves in the unity of the Supreme Being ; God is all, and all is God. When a world has been produced, Brahma disappears again, absorbed in the supreme soul ; and the time of creation is succeeded by a time of dissolution. If that God awakes, forthwith the universe performs its acts ; does he sleep, everything stops and dissolves in the supreme soul ; then that soul of all beings falls asleep in perfect quietude. Thus, by an alternative awaking and repose, the changeless being makes all that assemblage of moveable and immoveable creatures die and revive eternally. The creations and the destructions of the world are innumerable. The Supreme Being renews them as if in play.

Now, this alternative repose and awaking are called Brahma's day and night. Brahma's day comprises a thousand ages of the gods ; the age of the gods consists of twelve millions of divine years ; the divine year is three hundred and sixty human years. At the expiration of Brahma's day the dissolution of the world takes place, and Brahma's night begins ; the duration of the night is equal to the duration of the day.

Three hundred and sixty of those days and those nights compose Brahma's year (3,118,400,000,000 human years). A hundred years of Brahma (or Brahma's century) form his era, at the end of which that god, ceasing to exist, will be absorbed in the Supreme Being. The 12,000 divine years, making up the age of the gods, are divided into four human ages.

The first of the human ages, called Krita, is composed of 4800 divine years, comprising the two twilights. The second called Treta, contains with its two twilights, 3600 years. The third, named Dvapara has 2400 years, and the fourth named Kali, 1200. Men live 400 years during the first age ; in the others their existence loses successively a fourth of its duration. In the first age justice, under the form of an ox, maintains itself firm on its four feet ; it loses a foot in each of the following years.

BRAHMANISM.

According to the Hindoos the three first ages of the actual period are gone ; we are now in Kali's age, which began 3000 years before the Christian era.

Our period is found in the first day of the fifty-first year of the era of Brahma. Such in sum is the system of cosmogony and theology presented in the Vedas and the laws of Manu. Those divine laws concern only the people of India who consider themselves as the only men loved of the gods—The Israelites.

In the popular belief, the Vedas, composed at first by Brahma himself, were gradually revealed to inspired writers. Without pretending to fix absolutely at what epoch the compilation was made, scholars accord a high antiquity to it.

According to tradition Brahma was equally the author of the book of the laws of Manu. He made Manu his son learn it by heart. From that son it was received by the ten eminent saints ; it is by Bhrigu, one of them, that it was revealed to the Brahman sages. The mythology of this book agrees with that of the Vedas to whose authority it ceaselessly appeals.

Although in the Vedas a certain virtue is ascribed to the number three, nevertheless there exists neither in those collections nor in the book of Manu, any real trace of the Trimurti or Brahmanic trinity. Vishnu and Hara are, in the laws of Manu, placed in the number of the divinities created by Brahma ; they play no part, not even a secondary one, in the creations and the destructions of the world ; nowhere are Vishnu's incarnations mentioned. It is to another mythological system that we must ascribe the collections of legends or Puranas which represent Vishnu and Siva as two divinities equal or superior to Brahma, with whom they form the trinity which creates, preserves, and destroys successively all beings. In the Indian trinity Brahma is the creative god, Vishnu the preserver, Siva the destroyer and the restorer. The three proceed from the Supreme Being by a triple emanation ; or rather of the three members of the trinity, one is the Supreme God whence the two others emanate. According to the laws of Manu, the Supreme Being is Brahm, who passes into

Brahma in the exercise of his creative power. In the trinitarian mythology there exist two sects, of which one regards Vishnu as the Supreme Being, the other Siva. The Vishnu sect appears to be the more widely spread. Siva was the great god (Mahadeva) of the ante-Aryan populations. The Brahmanic trinity was completed by his addition shortly before the coming of Buddha. According to other writings the trinity is a pure abstraction. There is no real distinction between Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva ; they are three different manifestations of the Supreme Being ; this unique being appears under three forms for the acts of creation, conservation, and destruction ; but he himself is one (Bagavadam). The sun is the living image of the triple power Brahma, Vishnu, Siva ; for the sun vivifies, preserves, destroys. Seated on his radiating chariot, he pursues his course in space ; he it is that constitutes time ; he is the prince of the heavenly bodies.

For spouse Brahma (the Supreme Being) has Sacti, Parasacti or Maya (the queen of illusion). She is the primitive matter, the creative energy, the mother of beings ; she descends and divides herself into a trinity like Brahm. From her emanate Sarasuati, spouse of Brahma, goddess of eloquence, Lakchmi or Sri, spouse of Vishnu, goddess of abundance, and Durga, Parvati, Bhavani or Kali, spouse of Siva, goddess of death. Each of the gods of the trinity has children which in truth are only emanations or incarnations of the god himself ; a certain number of incarnations are ascribed to Brahma and to Siva ; but the most celebrated and the most useful for the human race are those of Vishnu, the conservative divinity ; he showed himself for the salvation of the world under metamorphoses and innumerable forms. We will cite the most known.

It is under the human form that Vishnu (considered as the Supreme Being), reposed in contemplative sleep on a bed of milk when from his navel comes forth Brahma, who created in his members all living beings.

Under the form of a boar, Vishnu lifted up the earth submerged by the waters.

Under the form of a tortoise he sustains Mount Meru.

Under the name of Eguia he explains theology to the sages.

Under the name of Danmudry he teaches medicine.

Under the name of Vyasa he made the compilation of the Vedas.

Under the name of Rama, son of king Dassarada, he put to death the giant Ravana, king of Candy.

Under the name of Krishna and of Balarama, he cleared the earth overrun with wicked men.


He appeared under the name of Buddha, at the commencement of the age of Kali ; at the end of the same age he will, under the name of Calki, come again to destroy the race of impure and wicked men.

The idea of divine incarnation comes from gratitude or admiration. When a man rises above others by his heroism, his wisdom, by the services which he renders, the popular voice cries out that he is not a mortal, but Vishnu himself incarnated. This thought seems quite simple in the pantheistic beliefs of Hindostan, which see God in all and all in God (John i.). The most important of Vishnu's incarnations is, according to the Brahmans, that of Krishna, whose death coincides with the commencement of our age. In the other Avatars that God appeared only in part, but in this Krishna he appeared entire.

On complaints made by the goddess of the earth against the race of the giants by which it is desolated, Vishnu forms the design of incarnating himself under that name. "Some time after he replenished King Vasudeva with rays of his splendour. The king places them in the bosom of his wife Devaki. At the moment of conception she appeared as brilliant as the east where the moon rises" (Bagavadam).

However, the throne of Vasudeva is usurped by the tyrant Kansa, who, on a report that Devaki was with child, has her thrown into prison, in the fear of a future avenger. But the birth of the child is kept from his knowledge. "At the approach of the time of the birth, Brahma, Siva, and all the gods prepare to go and worship Vishnu in the prison. They celebrate the virtues of the child about to be born. At the moment of his appearance they throw

flowers on him. The genii sing, dance, and play their melodious instruments. All the planets and stars appear under happy aspects" (Bagavadam). Under these sacred legends we may see all the life of Krishna, who, after avenging his parents and clearing the earth of the giants and the wicked by whom it was infested, perished while hunting, being wounded by a poisoned arrow. But if the incarnation of Krishna is specially venerated by the people of Hindustan, that of Buddha has, for the other districts of oriental Asia, been attended with consequences of the greatest consequence. There arose from it a complete reform of Brahmanism, or, to speak more correctly, a new religion which established itself in the face of that of the Brahmans of which it is, in fundamental points, not only the negation but the contradiction. The influence of the trinity and the incarnations of its members introduced important modifications into the Brahmanic religion. To the worship of the stars and the elements, personified in Indra and the other gods or genii, there was added, and in some sort substituted, but with more pomp and splendour, the worship of the persons of the Trimurti, under the different forms that they had assumed. At present the most solemn festivals are those of Krishna-Djagannatha-Govinda and those of Siva or Mahadeva, and of his spouse Durga-Bhavani-Kali ; the worship of the two last is accompanied by that of the Lingam, and of numerous animal sacrifices. Properly speaking no public festival is celebrated in honour of Brahma and Vishnu, but they are worshipped in a sacrifice of fire, and in the daily meditations and prayers of the Brahmans. To the anchorets and ascetics, who lived insulated in woods and secluded spots, succeeded monks united in numerous monasteries. Numerous pagodas or temples were raised which became consecrated places of devotion whither pilgrims flocked in crowds. This direction of mind seems to have received a powerful impulse from Buddhism. Like all militant sects, it is distinguished by an ardent propagandism. The necessities of the conflict, not less than its Unitarian beliefs, lead it to a strong religious organisation, to zealous endeavours, results of which still survive in India.



After its expulsion the simplicity of the primitive worship of the Vedas did not reappear. Many things taught in those books are observed no longer. Rituals in relation with the Puranas have been introduced. New forms of worship have been instituted. To the incarnation of Vishnu in Buddha, the Brahmans opposed that of the same god in Rama and in Krishna. A similar thing took place in the worship of Mahadeva and of Bhavani among the sects which worship Siva.

But whatever modifications theological beliefs underwent in the course of centuries, whatever sects appeared, the legislation of Manu does not seem to have been sensibly altered among the populations of India. The trinity, personifications of attributes and energies of the Supreme Being, incarnations of the gods, deifications of heroes—all these metaphysical speculations introduced few changes into the civil and criminal laws, and into the religious or moral prescriptions of Brahma's divine son. This legislation takes up man at his birth, and goes with him into all ages, all social positions down to the day when, quitting this mortal body, he goes to receive in the other life, the rewards or the punishments which his actions have deserved. Religious and political institutions, moral precepts—all are comprised from teachings of the highest kind to details the most minute and the most puerile.

The peoples of India, we have said, are divided into four classes differing in origin. Some are born of the higher parts of Brahma, others of the lower, and they are placed in this class or that in consideration of their preceding lives. Resignation is a pious duty for the disinherited. Each one should accept his lot and fulfil the obligations which it imposes. He will receive his reward in this life and in the other. But to trench on the rights of the upper classes is to break God's law. The guilty, if he escapes earthly retributive justice will not avoid the punishment of heaven. On these principles rest the system of laws given by Manu for the different classes.

The duty of the Brahmans is to learn and teach the Vedas, to perform the sacrifices, to direct the sacrifices of others, to give and to receive.

The duties of the Shatriyas are to protect the people, to exercise charity, to sacrifice, to read the sacred books, and not to yield to the pleasures of sense.

The Vaishya has for his functions to take care of the cattle, to bestow alms, to study the sacred books, to carry on commerce, to lend on interest, to till the earth.

One sole office is assigned to the Sudra, that of serving the three other classes, without depreciating their merit.

The Brahman is of right the lord of all creation, because he draws his origin from the most noble member ; is born first and possesses the holy scripture.

The birth of a Brahman is the everlasting incarnation of justice ; he is destined to identify himself with Brahm. A Brahman cannot be punished corporeally. If he commits all possible crimes he is banished without personal injury and in possession of his property.

He never incurs a penalty as severe as that which is inflicted for the same transgression on men of the other classes, and attacks on his person or his goods are severally repressed.

The military class proceeds from the sacerdotal class ; the human race is placed under their joint protection.

The king is formed of the eternal particles of the substance of the principal gods, guardians of the eight regions ; he is a great divinity under a human form.

The Brahmins are his principal councillors ; when the king enters the court of justice he is attended by Brahmins.

The Vaishya must assiduously occupy himself with his profession and with care of the cattle.

The Sudra, whether bought or not bought, is obliged to discharge his servile functions. Although unfranchised by his master, he is not set free from the condition of servitude ; that state is natural to him. Despite the condemnation bestowed by the laws of Manu of everything that damages the distinction of castes, the inclinations of nature cannot change. It is necessary to permit, or at least to tolerate unions between persons of different classes ; but the favours of the law are reserved for those which take place between persons of the same caste. The children that are born of

the latter alone make parts of the four legal classes. Manu determines the inferior condition which is destined for children the issue of diverse admixtures. An infinite variety of classes ensues.

To-day in India the Vaishyas and the Sudras, entirely confounded under the name Hindoos, are divided according to their professions into a multitude of particular tribes ; each occupation constitutes an hereditary class out of which its members cannot go. The caste of Shatriyas is singularly reduced in number. That of Brahmans, on the contrary, has preserved all its importance and its religious authority, notwithstanding successive revolutions and dominations.

Of the four castes established by the laws of Manu, the three first are called regenerate, because by the study of the Vedas they may arrive at a second birth, the spiritual birth ; on the other hand the servile class is accounted unworthy to receive the sacred science ; they are to live in ignorance and contempt. The regenerate or twice-born (dvidjas) are of four different orders :—the novice, the master of the house, the anchorite, and the devout ascetic. The order of the master of the house or the head of the family is the most eminent ; the three others owe their origin to him and are supported by him.

The Dvidjas of the four orders are bound to practice with the greatest care the ten virtues which form the substance of duty. Those virtues are, resignation, returning good for evil, temperance, probity, purity, mastery over the senses, acquaintance with the Shastras (sacred books), knowledge of the higher soul, veracity, absence of anger. There are three births for the regenerate man ; the first takes place in his mother's bosom ; the second at the time of investiture with the girdle and the sacred cord ; the third at the performance of the sacrifice when married.

Sacraments or sacred ceremonies have been instituted with a view to purify the body of the Dvidjas, and to prepare it for absorption in the Supreme Being. By the sacraments of conception, the ceremonies attending birth, the tonsure, investiture with the sacred cord are effaced all the impurities received by the infant in his mother's bosom.

The study of the Veda, pious observances, oblations to fire, the devotional act of the *traividya*, offerings to the gods, and to the manes during the noviciat, the procreation of children, the five great oblations, and the solemn sacrifices prepare the body for absorption in the Divine Being. At the time of conception offerings are presented on behalf of the purification of the fœtus. At the moment of the birth of a male child and before the umbilical cord is cut, the child is made to taste honey and clarified butter in a golden spoon, during the repetition of sacred words. (Isaiah vii. 15, 22).

Every child receives a name on the tenth or twelfth day after birth. In the fourth month the child is taken out of the house where he is born that he may see the sun. Rice is given him to eat in the sixth month. During the first or the third year the ceremony of the tonsure takes place with the *Dvidjas*; it consists in shaving the head except the summit on which a tuft of hair is left. The ceremony of initiation is performed from the fifth to the sixth year for a Brahman, from the sixth to the twenty-second year for a Shatriya, from the eighth to the twenty-fourth for a Vaishya; beyond that term those who have not received the sacrament of initiation are exposed to the contempt of respectable people, as unworthy and excommunicated.

The symbol of initiation is the sacred cord. This cord is made of cotton thread for a Brahman, hemp for a Shatriya, of wool for a Vaishya. It is worn on the upper part of the body, tied to one shoulder and passing under the other. At the same time the initiated put on a girdle, garments, and take a staff, the materials and form of which are determined by the law. They vary in each class. The initiation of the *Dvidyas* is the token of their new birth and sanctifies them. The marriage ceremony holds with women the place of the sacrament of initiation; their zeal to serve their husbands holds the place of sojourn near their spiritual father, and the care of their house makes the maintenance of the sacred fire unnecessary.

From the time of initiation the young *Dvidyas* are, as novices, placed under the direction of the spiritual master who has initiated them and remain in his house. The novice

has his head shaven or long hair. He rises before the sun and goes to bed after its setting. He bathes every day and then makes a libation of fresh water to the gods, the saints, and spirits of his ancestors (manes). He abstains from honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, savoury juices, women, all substances become acid, and bad treatment of animals. He represses the senses, gets his daily bread by begging, makes an oblation to fire morning and evening, applies zealously to the study of the Veda. He reads Holy Scripture with pious attention and with his hands joined. At the beginning and the end of each reading he pronounces the syllable *aum* (om, oum), the letters of which Brahma drew from the three sacred books, as well as the three great words Bhur, Bhuvah, and Swar (*earth, atmosphere, heaven*).

Brahma also extracted from the three Vedas the prayer called Savitri. In repeating that prayer, preceded by the sacred monosyllable and the three great words, in a low voice with suppressed breath, and in determined circumstances inappreciable advantages are procured in this world and in the next. The mystic monosyllable is the symbol of Brahm; the suppression of the breath is pious austerity the most perfect; nothing is above the Savitri. This prayer is pronounced during the twilights, standing in the morning, seated in the evening. Its recitation is called the oblation of the Sacred Scripture; it is a sacrifice always meritorious. The Brahman, who teaches the Sacred Scripture, is regarded by his pupil as a father, as a mother. The father who gives existence has not a right to as much respect as the spiritual father. After the study of the Vedas and of mystic treatises, he who has never broken his noviciate may enter into the order of masters of the house or heads of families. He marries a wife of good promise. His first wife must be of the same class as himself. If he wishes to take others they are preferred in the direct order of the classes.

There are eight forms of marriage for the four classes. Some are good, others bad in this world and the world to come. The union of the hands of the intended husband and wife is enjoined when the woman is of the same class

as the man ; in the other cases, different emblems are employed. Married women should be laden with attentions and presents. Whenever women are honoured the divinities are satisfied, but when women are dishonoured acts of piety remain sterile.


The nuptial fire is kindled the moment of marriage. The master of the house makes use of it afterwards, according to the fixed rule, for the domestic offerings of the morning and the evening, for the five great oblations, and the daily cooking of the food.

The five great oblations are made every day ; they are addressed to the saints, to the gods and genii, to the manes, to the guests, to the spirits. The law regulates the ceremonies and the conditions. The funeral repast (*Sraddha*) made in honour of the manes, secures them lively satisfaction in the other world. He who provides it for a recently-deceased relative has for his object to pave the way for his soul into the celestial abode ; if that oblation were not made, that soul would wander here below among the bad spirits.

There is no sacrifice, no pious observance, no fast which concern women in particular ; let a wife respect and cherish her husband and she will be honoured in heaven.

After the death of her husband the virtuous wife keeps herself perfectly chaste ; the right to marry again is not conceded.

The third period of life commences with the *Dvidja* when he sees his skin wrinkle and his hair turn grey, and when he has under his eyes the son of his son. He then retires into a forest to lead the life of an anchoret, whether with his wife or alone after having confided his wife to his sons. There he regularly goes through the oblations, the sacrifices, and the other religious ceremonies. He is clad in goat-skin or in bark ; he bathes evening and morning, lets his hair grow as well as his beard, the hair of his body and his nails. Ceaselessly does he apply to the study of the *Veda*, endures all with patience, gives constantly, never receives, shows himself benevolent and compassionate in regard to all beings. He feeds on pot herbs, flowers, roots, fruits produced by pure trees and oils extracted from the fruits.



He rolls on the earth or stands erect for a whole day. In the hot season he bears the ardour of the five fires ; in rainy times he exposes himself naked to the torrents that pour down from the clouds ; in the cold season he wears damp garments. His austerities end by drying up his mortal substance. After the life of an anchoret comes the period of the ascetic life, during which the Dvidja renounces affection of all kinds in order to obtain supreme felicity after his death. The ascetic lives alone, without fire, without home, begging his food, resigned, meditating in silence, and fixing his mind on the Divine Being. With his hair, his beard, his nails cut, furnished with a dish, a jug, and a staff, he wanders about continually absorbed in meditation ; by night as well as by day he walks, his eyes fixed on the earth that he may not cause the death of any creature. He effaces his sins by suppression of his breath, by absolute self-absorption, by reading the sacred books, by meditation on the sacred Scripture and on the universal soul of beings. The Brahman who fulfils the ascetic life according to the fixed rules cleanses himself here from all sin and grows into union with the Supreme Divinity.

After having traced the special prescriptions for the four orders of Dvidjas, the religious law determines the aliments which are not to be used, the purifications required by the legal impurities, the penance and expiations which atone for faults and crimes. The rules of abstinence bear on a great number of aliments, and appear to be established mostly in view of the climate of India, where it would be unhealthy to habitually use certain meats which are eaten without inconvenience and even with advantage in cold or temperate regions. Some of these injunctions are also connected with the religious opinions of the Hindoos, who assimilate to man all animated beings and even vegetables. The law on impurities indicates the circumstances under which you become impure, the time that the state of impurity lasts, the purification it requires. We give some examples. On the birth of a child the father and mother are impure, especially the latter.

The death of an infant who has received the investiture,

and that of a more aged person, render divers members of their family impure. Among the impure are the father of a bastard, the woman who has had a miscarriage, also a woman during her monthly courses, he who has touched an impure person or a dead body. There are things which are always pure ; for instance, water of which a cow has drunk, the hand of a labouring man, goods exposed for sale, food given to a begging novice, a woman's mouth, a bird which causes fruit to fall. The agents of purification for animated beings are sacred science, austerities, fire, pure aliments, the earth, the mind, water, ointment made of cow-dung, the air, religious ceremonies, the sun, and time.

There are also modes of purification for things that are used, such as metals, precious stones, pots, vases, liquids, vestments, grains, fruits, silk, or wool stuffs, utensils of wood, horn, bone, ivory, a house, the soil.

The legal impurities which often proceed from involuntary causes, are removed by easy means ; but faults and crimes born of human wickedness, subject the guilty to penances and expiations proportioned to the gravity of the action, independently of judicial repression. The Dvidja who has committed a fault, whether during his actual or his previous life, cannot live with respectable people so long as he has not performed penance.

There are crimes that entail certain maladies or infirmities, such as idiotcy, dumbness, blindness, deafness ; the culprits who do not expiate these crimes are born into another life with the ignominious marks that are their consequences.

A sinner may be relieved of his sin by a confession made in public, by repentance or a punishment, for mental acts in his mind, for those of speech in his organs of speech, for bodily acts in his body. When the body has ceased to live, the soul returns toward the supreme soul, and the intelligence. Those two principles examine together and ceaselessly the vices and virtues of the soul ; and, according as it has owned the control of virtue or vice, it obtains in this world and the next, pleasure or pain. If the soul has practised virtue almost always, and vice rarely, it receives

another body, and enjoys delights in the celestial abode (Swarga).

If it has yielded to evil frequently, and rarely observed good, it is subject in hell to torments inflicted by Yama.

Great criminals pass many series of years in the infernal regions, where they suffer all kinds of tortures ; some are devoured by ravens and owls ; others swallow burning cakes, or walk on flaming sands, others are put in the fire like potters' vases. After having suffered the penalties pronounced by the sentence of the infernal judge, the soul entering another body, is born again into an earthly existence, where it is placed according to its qualities and merits. There are three qualities in the soul, namely, goodness, passion, darkness, or ignorance. The effects of the quality of goodness are, the study of the Veda, austere devotion, divine knowledge, purity, subjection of the senses, performance of duty, and meditation on the Supreme Being. The effects of the quality of passion are, not to act except in view of a reward, to allow yourself to fall into despair, to do things forbidden by the law, to yield ceaselessly to the pleasures of the senses. The effects of the quality of darkness are, cupidity, indolence, irresolution, evil speaking, omission of prescribed acts, importunity, negligence, atheism. Souls endowed with the quality of goodness acquire in a new birth the divine nature ; those who are mastered by passion have the human condition for their lot ; souls plunged into darkness, sink into the state of animals and even that of vegetables. Such are the three principal kinds of transmigration. In each of these there are three degrees : the inferior, the intermediate, the superior.

The inferior degree of the quality of darkness comprises vegetables, worms, insects, fish, tortoises, beasts, and savage animals ; while, in the superior quality of goodness, the soul has intercourse with Brahma, the creator of the world, the genius of virtue, the two divinities of the intellectual principle and the invisible principle. Between these two extreme lines are classed all the other states of being. The Sudras, for example, and despised barbarians are placed in the same degree as elephants, lions, tigers ; on the con-

trary, the Brahmins are found in the legions of the aerial demi-gods, the genii of the lunar asterisms and the Daityas.

Above the happiest states of this world is the Supreme Beatitude which consists in being absorbed in Brahm.

The works which lead a Brahman into that beatitude are to study and to understand the Vedas, to practise rigorous devotion, to know Brahm, to honour your spiritual master ; the study of the Veda for the purpose of knowing the Supreme Being is regarded as the most efficacious work. When a Brahman acknowledges in his own soul the supreme soul which lives in all creatures, and shows himself the same in regard to all, he obtains at last the sovereign happiness of absorption in Brahm. A hundred millions of Hindoos now observe the Brahmanic religion.

BUDDHISM.

Tradition has preserved the memory of six Buddhas that came upon earth before Sakyamuni, the founder of a new religion.

According to the most accredited opinion, he was born in the year 622 before Christ, and died in 543.

The new Buddha (enlightened) belongs to the caste of Shatriyas, to the race of the Gotamides, and to the family of the Sakyas, who are said to descend from the solar kings of India.

He came down from heaven in the bosom of Maya, wife of the king Suddhodana. His mother conceived him without stain, and after ten months were over, brought him forth without pain. He was born at the foot of a tree. Brahma received him in a golden vase. Gods or kings ; incarnations of the gods, are present at his birth. Sages recognise the character of the divinity in this marvellous child ; he is called Siddhartha. At the age of twenty-nine he embraces the ascetic life and from that time is known under the names of Sakyamuni (the hermit Sakya), and of Sramana Gautama (the Gotamide Ascetic, or the Ascetic of the race of the Gotamides.) He gathers around him a certain number of ascetics or monks who become his disciples. Nothing distinguishes him from other hermits.

His monks and himself are in the Buddhic books placed in the same rank as the ascetics of the caste of the Brahmans. Sakyamuni does not depend on any god ; he holds all of himself and of the grace of an anterior Buddha, of more divine origin. His power is superior to that of the gods who obey even his disciples. Indra appears to him ordinarily, and comes to converse with him. Sakya converses with his disciples in presence of an assembly composed of auditors of all kinds, from gods down to men the most vulgar. To be admitted to the number of his hearers, it is enough to have faith in him and a will to follow him. His disciples bear the name of ascetics or monks. There are also nuns in his retinue. Both observe chastity, and get their living by begging. These two orders constitute the bulk of the assembly ; below them come devotees of both sexes. The monks of Sakya live at first in insolation. They come together to hear the master's word, until they are dispersed by the rainy season, returning when that is over. The necessity of recurring to other steps soon makes itself felt. They raise in woods and in gardens a kind of monasteries where the master gives his instructions. In principle, these establishments are temporary ; they are frequently transported from one place to another. In time they settle down in one place and receive a regular organization. Opulent monasteries and smiling hermitages are founded. The necessity to withstand adversaries, united Sakya's disciples in one body. He establishes among them a hierarchy based on age and merit. After the master come the elders, some of whom bear the title of elders of the elders or superiors (bishops), others are qualified as venerable. Below these are divers titles and classifications. Set rules fix the garments of the monks, their admission, their meals, &c.

The doctrine of Sakyamuni draws its authority from the sanctity of its author who is considered as Buddha, in which character he possesses superhuman knowledge and power. He clearly sees the past and the future. He works miracles. He announces himself as the saviour of men. His doctrine is to subsist many ages after him ; then, its salutary effect having ceased, a new Buddha will come, whom, according

to the legends, his predecessor himself will, before sending him down to earth, consecrate in heaven in the quality of future Buddha.


The Brahmins are the natural adversaries of Sakya, who takes from them men's respect and homage. They reproach him with admitting among his disciples people condemned by the elevated classes, poor, miserable creatures of all conditions ; they contend with him as to who should do the greater number of miracles. Independently of prodigies Sakya also employs preaching for the work of conversion—a means quite new which the Brahmins did not make use of. This resource contributed not a little to spread his doctrine and multiply his disciples. Another cause not less productive of progress, is his offering salvation to all men, whatever their caste, and whatever their anterior mode of life. "My law," he says, "is a law of grace for all." Nevertheless he recognises the distinction of caste, and like the Brahmins explains it by the theory of rewards and punishments ; but in his eyes this was only an accident of human existence. Whoever goes to him finds in his conversion, means for rising above the defect of his birth as well as of his past faults, and for reaching the final happiness from which the Brahmins exclude most men. In this sense Sakyamuni suppresses the distinction of castes ; with him the priesthood ceases to be hereditary, the monopoly of religion and public instruction leaves the hands of a superior caste, who are replaced by a body of monks devoted to celibacy and recruiting their numbers in all classes ; while the Brahmins disappear in this new order of things, the other castes may still remain, but solely as a political institution, having no religious character. However Sakya's doctrine is calculated to bring the abolition of caste altogether and in any point of view. His disciples are ready to deduce hence this consequence and to proclaim the unity of the human race : "Priests, warriors, labourers, artisans," they say, "are alike in the flesh, the skin, the blood, the figure, the bones ; all men, the same within and without, are assuredly only one caste."

Sakyamuni shares the greatest part of the Brahmanical

opinions ; but he separates from them in the consequences which he deduces, in the nature of the Sovereign Being, whom he reduces to unity and disengages from all contact with matter ; in the final happiness which he proposes to man as the object of his efforts. According to the pantheism of the Brahmans, all creation emanates from the substance of Brahm ; God and matter co-exist together ; man rolls on in the perpetual circle of transmigration. His place in the scale of beings depends on the merit of his actions. When the creation dissolves he with the world re-enters into the substance of the Supreme Being. Buddhism also admits transmigration with the system of rewards and punishments attached to good and bad actions ; but it differs from Brahmanism in this, that in its doctrine the Changeless Being, in whom are the three persons of the trinity, sits on the void, on the outside of creation and without any contact therewith. This visible world, the empire of Maya, where everything changes ceaselessly, where life and death succeed each other indefinitely, offers nothing real ; it is a pure illusion which deceives the senses, a veritable imposition. "The three worlds (the earth, the atmosphere, the sky), are empty ; there is no difference between being and not-being." Existence in the created universe is then an evil. Man, as well as all the spiritual substances which are dispersed in it, ought always to tend to disengage himself from matter, to purify himself and free himself from every ulterior transmigration, in deserving to be united, in the Nirvana, with the universal and indestructible spirit. The fabulous Mount Meru, which passes for the loftiest part of the earth and the central point of heaven, is with the Buddhists, as well as the Brahmans, the abode of the gods (Devas), and of the genii of all kinds, good or bad. They are settled there on stages more or less elevated according to their rank and their power. The gods charged with the direction of the world, dwell in the six heavens of the Devas, who are superposed one on the other up to the summit of Mount Meru. Above these six heavens, common to the two religions, the Buddhists place a good number of others, destined to receive more accomplished beings, and

whose excellence graduates from regions up to regions, in accumulations of grandeur, purity, and light. Immaterial beings, who were zealous followers of Buddha's doctrine, inhabit the four most lofty abodes. Finally beyond all those heavens, and far from created nature, is the Void, the abode of the Indestructible Being and of pure spirits, who having reached the state of Buddhas, have attained the filial beatitude of Nirvana or of non-existence, beatitude which consists in an infinite extasy in the bosom of the eternally immovable Being. While other men are, according to the merit of their deeds, admitted into the different abodes of Mount Meru and of the superposed heavens, where they pass a time more or less long before resuming a new existence, those who, by the practice of the six transcendent perfections, namely, alms, morality, science, energy, patience, and charity, have raised themselves to the indestructible region, abide there free of all transmigration, whether in the actual world, or ulterior creations ; but those blessed ones come from time to time on earth to recall men to the true doctrine and to give them strength to follow it. Descending under the form of rays of light, they take a body from Maya, who can no longer impose illusion on them, and over whom they exercise absolute empire. The chief among them, the Buddhas, properly so called, appear only a single time. The others, called Bodhisattvas, accomplish several incarnations until they rise to the rank of Buddhas, and then they ascend no more. It does not appear that Sakyamuni occupied himself with worship. That which his disciples established in India is simple and has a small number of dogmas. The religious ceremonies consist in offerings of flowers and perfumes, accompanied by music, songs, and prayers. It contains no trace of bloody animal sacrifices, no immolation of men or women devoted to the flames.

The proper worship of the Buddhists is addressed only to two kinds of objects, images and the relics of Sakyamuni. The portrait of Sakya is painted on canvas with an inscription that contains a summary of the Buddhist faith ; the beauty of his countenance is celebrated, and his head is ornamented with crispy hair, although he was not of the



black race. Sometimes the images of Buddha represent him as suckled by the beautiful Maya, his mother, who holds him in her lap, and as receiving offerings of fruits and flowers (the virgin and her child). Near him are groups of animals dear to Buddha, who forbids shedding of blood ; a glory surrounds the head of the infant, as well as that of his mother. The worship of relics is very ancient in Buddhism, going back to the first disciples of Sakya. It has for objects Buddha's bones, hair, garments, &c. Pompous monuments have been constructed to contain these precious remains. In Thibet and Mongolia, temples were erected to receive the sacred books of the ancient Buddhists. In the belief of the faithful it suffices for these volumes to be put in movement, without its being necessary to read their contents, in order that they may exercise an efficacious action on the happiness of the human race.

The Buddhist priests make use of chaplets, the grains of which are equal in number to their sacred books.

Confession has been practised with the Buddhists from the earliest days of their religion. This is the mode of expiating sin, the pledge of repentance. It takes place publicly, in presence of all the assembly, or in secret, in being addressed to the person who has received the offence. Casuistry accompanies confession. The organisation of the religious Buddhists is distinguished in principle from that of the Brahmans ; these formed a sacerdotal hierarchy, without common centre, without a single head ; there was no pre-eminence among them except that of religious knowledge and sanctity ; with Buddhism, on the contrary, you always see a hierarchy strongly organized, a numerous and powerful clergy, having at its head a spiritual prince, and forming a state in a state. This clergy in Thibet even succeeded in founding a veritable ecclesiastical empire.

The disciples of Sakyamuni lead a life of retirement and penitence, ceaselessly endeavouring to propagate their doctrine, and practising the voluntary sacrifice of their person. The Brahmans believe also in the sanctity of suicide, committed for a religious object ; but they sacrifice themselves in view of a state of personal beatitude, while the

Buddhists do so for the benefit of the human race. On the death of Sakyamuni, Buddha, who had incarnated himself in him, continues to inhabit the earth for the purpose of propagating his doctrine himself. By means of transmigration he immediately re-appeared in the person of his first successor, then successively in that of the different chiefs or patriarchs which have presided over the destinies of Buddhism. This state of things has subsisted during the lives of thirty-three patriarchs, of which the six last have resided in China, and after them in the person of the Grand Lamas of Thibet, who do not cease in our days to be still a living incarnation of the God Buddha.

The doctrine of Sakyamuni freely propagates itself in all parts of India, and has flourished there for twelve centuries. But during the four first, there were among its adherents divisions, heresies, schisms, which came from the different interpretation of the same texts. These differences necessitate three divisions of the Buddhist Books. The first took place in an assembly of five hundred disciples, which was held immediately after the death of Sakya. The second was made ten years later, and the third council met about three hundred years after the second. From that time Buddhism has continued to unfold itself without the aid of other councils. It at first maintained itself with vigour in India and brought forth numerous systems. But the zeal of its missionaries did not restrict itself within the limits of that country. As early as the third century before Christ, they spread their doctrine beyond. Differing from Brahmanism which limits itself to the populations of India, Buddhism offers a way of salvation to all men, among whom it does not recognise any difference of origin or futurity. In the degree in which the Buddhists make progress in and out of India, a deeper sunderance establishes itself between them and the Brahmans. The latter, although they revere Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu, none the less attack the Indian Buddhism, not as a sect, but as a false religion invented by imposture. Their pantheism, their institutions, their interests cannot be reconciled with the absolute spiritualism of the new worship, with the unity of the human race, the


equality of men, and the abolition of castes. Here there is for them a question of life or death, and it is not difficult to explain the furious hatred which drives them to wage a war of extermination on the Buddhists. With the aid of the other castes they pursue them with fire and sword, without cessation, without relaxation, without pity or compassion, until they drive them out of India where their idols are overturned, their temples destroyed, and the penalty of death is inflicted on them and on those by whom they are spared. This result, however, was not obtained until after much time and trouble. The persecution begun about the fourth century, did not succeed in accomplishing its work till after a struggle of a thousand years.

Driven out of the other parts of India, the Buddhists maintained themselves in the south, in the island of Ceylon and on the north in the kingdom of Nepaul. From Ceylon missionaries traverse the countries beyond the Ganges whose populations they convert. On the north Buddhism had already begun to spread itself among the other nations of Asia, many years before the Brahmanical persecutions; but in those lands it added to the activity of its proselytism, and extended its progress to distant parts. In Thibet, in Tartary, and in the empires of China and Japan, it established itself successively. In all these countries Buddhism mingles more or less with the popular religions, borrowing a large number of their customs and superstitions. A similar mixture had already taken place in Nepaul where the doctrine of Sakya had united itself with the religious practices of Sivaism, which prevailed in that kingdom. The Buddhist missionaries equally visited Egypt and the lands of western Asia, especially after the conquest of Alexander the Great. Although their worship did not succeed in enthroning itself, its influence was not less very sensible on the ancient religions as well as on that of Christ. Doubtless it is to escape from the persecutions of the Brahmins that about the fifth century of the Christian era, the spiritual chief of Buddhism (the 28th of the series) went and fixed himself in the empire of China. From that time Buddha has not again incarnated himself in India, but in the bosom of the

populations among which his religion found a refuge. The personages in whom he reappeared, receive in China the title of Grand Masters or Spiritual Princes. Below them stand the monks, national and foreign, who are held to be animated by so many divine beings, inferior to Buddha, who lives in the person of the Grand Master (or Pope.) He and his principal monks are in the Emperor's Court directors of conscience and chiefs of spiritual affairs. They led that dependent and precarious existence down to the 13th century of our era. At that epoch, owing to the conquest of China by the Tartars, the religion of Fo (a name which the Chinese gave to Buddha) succeeded in gaining ascendancy over all others. Its head is put in the rank of kings. He was a native of Thibet and domains in his own country were assigned to him. Such is the origin of the monarchy, which, under the name of the Grand Lama or the Delai-Lama, the chief of Buddhism succeeded in founding in Thibet, the provinces of which were administered under his orders by provincial vicars or patriarchs. Afterwards the Emperor of China seized the important positions of that kingdom, and the supreme chief of religion is only in temporal matters a vassal of the empire.

Buddhism has a regularly constituted hierarchy in Thibet and among the Mongol peoples. But the supremacy of the Grand Lama is not acknowledged in all things in China properly so called, at least by the government. The latter may fear the ascendancy which would be taken by that incarnation of Buddha, were it supported in all the empire by a numerous body of unmarried priests, devoted to their head, and receiving his word as the expression of the will of God himself.

A singular resemblance presents itself between the institutions, the practices, the ceremonies of worship of the Grand Lama, and those which prevail in the Roman Church. In both you find a Supreme Head, provincial patriarchs, a council of superior priests who elect the spiritual monarch, monasteries of men and women, prayers for the dead, auricular confession, intercession of saints, fasts, the celibacy and the tonsure of the priests, foreign missions, pilgrimages, relics, chaplets, bells, indulgences, preachings, periodical



miracles, the worship of images, the nimbus around the heads of the saints, kissing of feet, litanies, processions, lustral water ; solely the Pope of Rome is in the beliefs of his Church only the Vicar of Jesus on earth, while, according to the Buddhists, the Grand Lama is Buddha himself perpetually incarnated. Struck with these resemblances the Christian missionaries at first regarded Lamaism as a kind of degenerate Christianity which the Syrian sects had imported into the East. Later on the idea became prevalent that it was a recent imitation of the theocracy and institutions of the Church of Rome. In modern times it has been asked if Buddhism was not the primitive source whence those beliefs and those institutions came into Greek and Latin Christianity, whether by their diffusion in the East in the first ages of our era, or in the middle ages by the influence of the Manichæans by whom they were adopted.

We confine ourselves to one remark ; it is that the religious hierarchy of the Buddhists, as well as their doctrines and usages, existed several centuries before Christ, and that there is nothing analagous to them either in the Old Testament or in the New.

The followers of Buddha are counted by hundreds of millions in the vast and populous regions of oriental Asia.

ZOROASTERISM.

We have seen that the Aryans, properly so called, divided into two bodies on the introduction of the doctrine of Zoroaster, (gold star), and that the tribes adverse to that worship emigrated in a south-east direction. The others, after remaining still some time in central Asia, left it in order to invade Persia, Media, and Susiana ; pushing still further, they about 2400 A.C., occupied the land of Babylon, where they maintained their dominion for two centuries. In Media the Aryans, less numerous than in Persia, sustained a long struggle with the native inhabitants, on whom they at last imposed themselves as an aristocratic government. There are two principal monuments of Mazdeism, which were found in India in the hands of the Parsees, descendants

of the ancient Persians. These are the Zend Avesta, written in the Zend language, and attributed to Zoroaster, and the Bun-Dehesch, written in Pelhvi, but which the Parsees describe as a translation of ancient works by the revealer, the original of which is lost. Zoroaster (Zaruthustra) announced himself as a prophet sent by God to bring to men the instructions of his law, the disclosure of which was made to him on the Holy Mountain, called the Bordj or Albordj. This law demanded unbounded love and veneration for Ormuzd (Ahura-Mazda) the king of light, the transcendently good, and an aversion toward Ahriman (Agramainyus) the prince of darkness, the evil one. From this double fount flows all moral teaching. Unlimited time (Zarvan-Akarana) produced the first light, the primæval fire and water, as well as the two principles of good and evil, Ormuzd and Ahriman.

In the beginning Ormuzd, raised above all height, was in the primal light with the pure and sovereign knowledge, which is his product, and which is called the law (Mazda). He appears with all the attributes of unlimited Time, whose authority is deposited in him ; he is and he will be always. Ahriman was in the primal darkness also together with his law. He is called the Evil One. He was always bad and is such still ; but a day will come when he will be good. Ormuzd and Ahriman are the sole existences of Zervan-Akarana. They were alone in the midst of the immensity of the first light and the first darkness. They appeared blended together, and by them was formed every thing that lives.

Ahriman, like Ormuzd, knows everything. Each of them is limited as to his body. Ormuzd is at once bounded and unbounded, for he knows the bounds of the power of the two ; Ahriman is a slave and a king. The duration of time, fixed at twelve thousand years, is divided into four periods of three thousand each. During the first period Ormuzd moves always alone. During the second his operations are mingled with those of Ahriman. The latter has the upper hand during the third. At its termination Ormuzd will be supreme for ever. His people will be estab-

lished at the end of time and subsist during the perpetual course of Existence. The subjects of Ahriman will then disappear, and Ahriman, submitting to the empire of light, will ever live among the servants of the Good Principle.

Ormuzd, who knows how time will be divided and what will be the machinations of Ahriman, resolves to create the universe. He produces beings by the medium of his word (John i.) (Honover).

Six superior spirits, formed by Ormuzd, form with him the choir of the Seven Amshaspands (Amesaspentas), of whom he is the first and the most mighty. Each one has his special attributes. Ormuzd produces the light which is between heaven and earth, and creates the sun, the planets, the fixed stars. The stars at their origin were counted and divided into twenty-eight constellations; they are surrounded and supported by about five hundred thousand inferior stars. All these heavenly bodies have for their office to defend creatures against the evil which Ahriman and his subjects endeavour to inflict upon them. For the same end is created an infinite multitude of Izeds (Yazatas, genii or angels). Each object in nature is under the guardianship of one of these. Man, the city, the village, the animal, the tree, the year, the month, the day, the hour, everything has its Ized or guardian angel. (Romanism again.) The tiniest flower is under the protection of a spirit. The most glorious of the Izeds is Mithra, who presides over the sun and to whom all the stars are subordinate. He is Ormuzd's eye, the Mediator of the Holy Mountain. He traverses space armed with a mace to drive away the wicked genii, and with a poignard of gold to fertilise the soil. He strikes the serpent which produces famine. He gives light to the earth placed under his protection. He traces a course for water. He maintains the harmony of the universe. Judge of the human soul, he awaits it, on its quitting the body, near the bridge Tchinevad (Chinvat), a narrow passage between this life and the other. If your good actions outnumber your bad ones your soul traverses without danger this bridge as sharp as the edge of a razor, and passes into the Behescht (paradise). If the contrary, it

falls into the infernal abyss. The productions of Ormuzd are also guarded against the spirits of darkness by divine animals in the number of which is the dog Sura, who abides in the fixed stars where he keeps perpetual watch. At midnight he gives battle to Ahriman. In heaven are the Feruers of different beings, that is their divine forms, their immortal types (the typical ideas of Plato). Every thing has its Feruer. Pure conceptions perhaps in their origin, the Feruers seem to have taken a less abstract character, and become an effective power. At first they exist alone, then they unite with the beings whose image they are. The Feruers of men, who were given them to lead them and to fight against Ahriman's creatures, will be re-established in their first state at the time of the renewal of bodies.

After having created the celestial world, Ormuzd, aided by the Amshaspands, produces the material world in six periods which form a year. In five and forty days he produces the circling heaven (distinct from the firm-set heaven where Ormuzd resides), the water in sixty days, the earth in seventy-five; in thirty the trees, in eighty animals, in seventy-five man.

In the centre of the earth is Albordj, the holy mount which ascends to the firm-set heaven. It is the root of all the mountains, the stars dwell on its summit, which increases from age to age. The stars come forth sparkling from its caverns. From the top of its rocks rushes Arduisur, the source of immortality, with all the water which forms the lakes, the brooks, the rivers, the seas. In Arduisur grows the tree of life (Hom), which gives abundance and health, postpones old age, and at the time of the resurrection will restore life to the dead. Hom is the chief of trees (the Garden of Eden). Every kind of product has its chief or head. There is the head of men, the head of terrestrial animals, the head of birds, the head of fish, the head of rivers, the head of mountains, &c.

The bull is the first born of animals. He was slain by the infernal powers. But his seed, purified by the light of the moon, produced two other oxen, one male, the other female, and of their union all kinds of animals are the issue.

The head of men is Kaïomorts (Gaya-Maratha). He issued from the right leg of the first bull. Having been slain by Ahriman and his serfs, his seed purified by the sun, produced a tree with two stocks, which became the first man and the first woman, Meschia and Meschianeh (Adam and Eve). During the period employed by Ormuzd in forming the heaven and its inhabitants, Ahriman remained quiet. Ignorant of what Ormuzd knew, he gave himself no concern. But at last the Evil One arises and approaches the light. As soon as he sees it he rushes forward to put it out ; then struck by its splendour he flees back into thick darkness. There he organises his dismal empire, the immense prison of the Duzak (Hell). He creates six principal spirits who will aid him to combat the seven Amshaspands ; and he produces under the name of Dews (Daevas) and Darudjs, an innumerable multitude of infernal powers with which he means to torment the world (like Satan). Against Mithra he sets Mithra Darud (Mithra the evil). At the sight of the frightful bands of Ahriman, Ormuzd makes overtures of peace. The two armies would have been immortal had they respected each other ; but the spirit of darkness declares himself the open enemy of Ormuzd and all his productions.

Ahriman rushes forward at the voice of his Dews and with them presents himself in front of the light. He alone makes his way into heaven under the form of a serpent ; he leaps upon a tree, and slips into its midst by an opening (the Garden of Eden). He attacks the trees, the primal bull, Kaïomorts, fire. He takes the form of a fly, and makes his way into everything. He breaks the world in the south. Everything becomes black in thick darkness. On his passage he sets all on fire. He throws on the trees a burning liquid which scorches them. He rushes on the fire, which forthwith sends forth volumes of dark smoke. He mingles with the planets, with the fixed stars. Not satisfied with corrupting or destroying the works of Ormuzd, he fills the world with evil products, deleterious elements, baneful stars, impure reptiles, poisonous plants, beasts furious and terrible to see.

Heaven was destined for man on condition that he did the works of the law, that he was lowly of heart and pure in affection, in word, in deed, and that he did not invoke the Dews. Meschia and Meschianeh lived innocent in a place of abundance and delight (the Garden of Eden), resembling the celestial abode. Ahriman comes under the form of a serpent to deceive and seduce them. They worship him as the lord of nature, and lose the advantages they enjoy. They procreate children, of whom all men are the descendants. Inheriting the miseries of their first parents, they continue to worship Ahriman, the author of their evils, down to the day when Zoroaster reveals to them the law of Ormuzd. However, the irruption of Ahriman and the Dews into the empire of light does not remain unpunished. All the subjects of Ormuzd coming forward to encounter them, a great battle takes place in the circling heaven. During ninety days and ninety nights the Izeds fight against the spirits of darkness. The Feruers of the warriors and of the pure join the celestial army, with club and lance in hand. Ormuzd then utters Honover (the Word) and the Izeds rush on the duzak Ahriman and his forces (Milton's battle in heaven). Victory declares in favour of the Izeds; but that victory does not put an end to the struggle between the two principles of good and evil. The spirits of darkness re-appear in the world. The war is resumed and continues. The troops of each empire fight for their sovereign. Everything divides into two parties, angels against devils, light against darkness, summer against winter, innocent animals against maleficent ones. The elements conflict. Even the stars sunder themselves into two hostile hordes. This great contest will not close till the end of time, when Ahriman, purified and reconciled, will unite with the Izeds in celebrating the praises of Ormuzd. Then comes the resurrection of the dead, and Ormuzd will preside at the last judgment of men, when their veins are restored to the bodies. From the celestial earth come the bones, from the water the blood, from the trees the skin, from the fire life, as in the creation of beings. Kaïo-morts will rise first; then Meschia and Meschianeh, and after them the other human beings. All is to be accom-

plished in fifty-seven years. Pure or impure (*darvand, impure, reprovéd*), each man will revive in this manner. Souls will come first; then the bodies scattered abroad in the world, which will be restored to what they were in this life. A part of the light of the sun will illumine Kaïomorts, the other part the rest of men. Souls will recognise their bodies, and each say "This is my father, this is my mother; that is my brother, that is my wife; those are my relatives, those my neighbours."

Then on earth there will be a gathering of men and of all the beings of the world. Each will see the good and the evil he has done. The just will be separated from the unjust (*darvands*). The first will go into Gorotman, where for three days and three nights they will enjoy in body and soul the pleasures of the blessed. The *darvands* will again be hurled into Duzak, and during the same time they will be punished in body and soul. A burning comet will fall on the earth and put all metals in a state of fusion. By these metals the *darvands* will be purified, as well as Ahriman and hell itself. The mountains will sink into plains, the earth will be renewed, and more beautiful than when in its cradle, it will appear surrounded by an ocean of light. After being purified by the metals, all men united in the same purpose, will make a sacrifice of thanksgiving to Ormuzd and the Amshaspands. All creation being completed, Ormuzd will cease to produce. The risen dead will be set free from humiliating wants, and enjoy pure felicity. Vivified by the word, the world will be immortal as long as being endures (*Bundehesch*).

Among the Persians the priesthood was in the hands of the Magi, a religious and philosophic sect. As all sacerdotal castes, they were very powerful; some of them usurped the throne.

Mazdaism, like other religions, had its particular ceremonies and usages. The infant at his birth was purified by ablutions and drunk of the liquor called Hom. At seven years of age he put on the Kosti (a girdle), at fifteen he went through the Gueti-Khezid, a kind of institution for which he was prepared by the study of certain writings.

Then he entered on civil life. Marriage was obligatory with the Persians. No prescription in their holy law was more rigorous, after the Kosti and the Gueti-Khezid. Fasts were with them neither meritorious nor authorised, Ormuzd was honoured by your giving your body sound and sufficient nutriment. Hence the soul becomes more vigorous for battle against the evil genii ; you will read the word with more attention and more energetically perform good deeds. The identity of religion which of old existed between the Persians and the upper classes of India may explain certain analogies presented by the worship of the two peoples. In both you find the belt given to the child when he enters on the age of reason, the libation of a certain spirituous liquor, purification by the urine of the cow and the worship of fire. Mazdaism also reproduced, with slight alterations, the names of different Brahmanical divinities ; but, with the exception of Mithra, who is identified with the sun in the two worships, the gods of Brahmanism have with the Persians become devils. At the same time the religion of the Zend-Avesta rejects pantheism, the worship of idols, the metempsychosis and other Brahmanical dogmas. Zoroasterism, put into contact with the religions of other nations in the regions conquered by the Persians, received their doctrines more or less, and in its turn reacted on them. On the borders of the Euphrates, the Persians of Cyrus met with the tribes of Israel, then captives, the majority of whom inhabited those provinces. There are numerous points of resemblance between the religion of Zoroaster and that of the Pentateuch. In both you find the unity of God, his separation from matter, an earthly paradise, the seduction of man and woman by the serpent, baptism by water, the interdiction of idols. From this time you see propagated among the Jews doctrines not taught by Moses and which seem borrowed from the Chaldees or the Persians, such as the twofold principle of good and ill, different choirs of angels, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the flesh, the last judgment. After the expedition of Alexander into the Punjab continual relations established themselves between the Buddhists and the successors of the conqueror. Buddhist

missionaries penetrated into Western Asia. Their influence on the ancient religions cannot be denied. We shall find it in Egypt, in Judea, and later on among Christian populations. Is not this the cause which made the mysterious worship of Mithra appear in Zoroasterism? The destiny of that worship is unknown down to the time when it was introduced into the Roman empire. According to Plutarch it was imported into Cilicia in the time of Pompey (67 A.C.) but its known monuments do not go back beyond the first years of the second century of our era. From that time it spread in the Roman provinces, especially in Pontus and Armenia. Afterwards it blended with Manichæism, or disappeared under the blows of the imperial proscriptions toward the end of the fourth century. The mysteries of Mithra were celebrated in caves. After long and severe trials, the aspirants were regenerated by a kind of baptism, accompanied by a lustration of water through the city and in the temple. They were then anointed on the forehead; then took place an offering of bread and wine during the utterance of mysterious words. The initiated became a soldier of Mithra; there were different grades and particular festivals for the consecration of each of the members. In these mysteries, by the side of doctrines and ceremonies which remind one of the religion of Ormuzd, there are others whose source is not the same. Mithracism is posterior to the relations of the Buddhists with the Persians and Western Asia. The incarnation of Mithra, born in a cavern, may be an imitation of that of Buddha. In the Mithraic ceremonies, according to Porphyry, they taught the metempsychosis, a doctrine unknown to the Persians, but which lies at the basis of the religion of India. The initiated underwent excessive macerations and fasts; those of both sexes, who wished to attain perfection, were bound to celibacy and virginity. But Mazdaism condemned those diverse practises, which on the contrary were lauded by the religion of Buddha and spread abroad on the world.

CHALDEISM.

THE region of the Euphrates and the Tigris appears to have been a cradle of civilisation not less ancient than that of Egypt. The primitive population of those two countries belonged to the same race. At a later time, the Chaldeans properly so called, having conquered the Babylonian provinces, constituted themselves there as a superior caste, which alone exercised the functions of the priesthood, and of political authority.

In truth, Assyria and Chaldæa formed only one state ; the worship, the usages, the language were the same. Nineveh and Babylon contended for the supremacy ; but the latter had a religious character which was respected equally in both countries. Babylon was the city of the gods pre-eminently. We find among the Chaldeo-Assyrians, the pantheistic unity of the Ganges and the Nile—a god-world in which all things are confounded and absorbed. From this supreme god emanate in gradual order a multitude of secondary divinities, which are nothing but his manifestations and personified attributes.

The first and unique principle in Chaldeism is Ilo, whose name signifies God ; in Assyria, he is designated under the national appellation of Assur, the supreme protector of that region.

From Ilo, universal source, there flows a trinity composed of Ano (Oannes of the Greeks), Ao or Bin and of Bel. Ano is the primordial chaos ; Ao the son specially considered, the intelligence (the word) by whom it (the primordial chaos), is penetrated. Bel, the demiurge who organises the world. These three personifications proceed the one from the other ; from Ano emanates Ao, and from Ao, Bel. To each of the personages of the supreme trinity is attached a female divinity, which is its double, its reflection. With Ano corresponds Anat (the Anaitis of the Greeks) ; with Ao, Taauth, (the grand lady) ; with Bel, Billith (the Mylitta of the Greeks, the mother of the gods). After the first trinity comes a second in the heavenly

bodies ; Samas the sun-god ; Sin, the moon-god ; and a form of Ao or Bin, considered as god of the atmosphere or the firmament. The second trinity is followed, in the order of the emanations, by the gods of the five planets ; Adar (Saturn), Merodach (Jupiter), Nergal (Mars), Istar (Venus), and Nebo (Mercury). Those planetary gods are second manifestations of the superior divinities ; Merodach passes at Babylon for one of the greatest gods, for Bel manifested in an inferior degree of the hierarchy. Istar reproduces Anat and Bilit, the great nature-goddess, mother of all beings. Below the five planets you find a constellation of thirty stars whose gods are called counsellors ; all that passes in the world is under their inspection. Among them are twelve chiefs, each one who presides over a month of the year and a sign of the Zodiac. On the outside of this Zodiacal circle twenty-four stars receive honour, twelve at the north, and twelve at the south ; their gods bear the name of judges of the universe. Astronomy was more advanced at Babylon than at any other place in the world ; and the divine hierarchy was finally arranged according to the sidereal system. With the principal divinities whom we have enumerated, there is, in relation with the world of stars, a multitude of personifications of an inferior order, less considerable gods or genii distributed in a scientific and religious order. The whole country is covered with idols. Each god is worshipped in a special place where he is accounted the most powerful of all. At Babylon, the sovereign of the gods is Bel-Merodach, accompanied by his spouse Bilit (Mylitta), the great nature goddess ; she presents herself under the two forms of Taauth and Zarpanit, the one austere, the other voluptuous. The women of the country are reported to prostitute themselves once in their life in honour of this last divine form. The Chaldeo-Assyrians possessed eight sacred books, which were attributed to the God Ano (Oannes), the originator of their primitive civilisation. From these Berosus and others extracted the information which they have transmitted on the cosmology and religious system of that country. According to Berosus, it was at first colonised by a multitude of men of different

nations, who met together at Babylon. There they lived without laws and without morals, after the manner of brutes, when, in the first year the god Oannes leaped from a gulf in the form of a monster, in part fish, in part man, who spoke human language. During the day he taught the people letters, the sciences, and all useful arts ; and at sunset he re-entered the sea, to pass the night there. Then Oannes wrote and left to men a book touching the genesis of the world and the rules of civilisation. Berosus next speaks of ten antediluvian kings of Babylon, whose names he gives, and to whom legend assigns a duration of four hundred and thirty-two thousand years. Under their reigns, there were four new appearances of Oannes, and one of Bel-Dagon, who brought each time a book completing that of the first Oannes. In the time of Xisuthrus, the last of the ten kings, the great deluge takes place. The supreme god, showing himself to that prince during his sleep, orders him to bury the sacred books in an indicated place, then to build a vessel which he should enter together with his relatives, his friends, animals of each kind, and provisions of all sorts. Xisuthrus obeys. Toward the end of the cataclysm, he lets some birds loose, who, from lack of food and a place of rest, promptly return to the ship. Let loose again some days after, they return with soil clinging to their feet. On the third trial, they return no more. Then Xisuthrus goes on shore with his wife, his daughter, and the steersman of the vessel ; after having offered a sacrifice, they disappear, and are transported into the abode of the gods. On a command from heaven, the other persons return into Chaldæa, exhume the writings, and reconstruct Babylon. Now, the vessel of Xisuthrus had settled in Armenia, where, says Berosus, its remains are still to be seen. Devotees carry away from it pieces of asphalt which serve as preservative talismans. The tradition of Berosus on the deluge seems to be the same as that of the Bible ; Abraham and his friends, natives of Chaldea, may have brought it from that country. The same may be said of what that author reports touching the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues.

The rule of Castes existed in Babylonia. The merchants, the artisans, the agriculturists, constitute three of them ; that of the fishermen of the Persian gulf stood in the lowest position.

The Chaldæans, properly so called, formed the superior and dominant caste, a caste entirely closed. The priesthood and the political government were in their possession. Their life was passed in meditating on questions of philosophy. They had great reputation as astrologers, foretold the future, explained dreams and prodigies, took credit for turning evil aside and procuring good by purifications, sacrifices, and enchantments. They were well versed in all that concerned the worship of the gods. Their science passed as a domestic tradition from father to son ; among them there were, in separate classes, sacred scribes, drawers of horoscopes, magicians, conjurors. Their divining talent secured them unlimited influence, and made them in some sort the arbiters of human destiny. Their caste disseminated throughout Babylonia, directed in different places schools more or less flourishing. They commanded the armies and occupied the principal post of the state. From their ranks proceeded the royal houses which succeeded each other in Babylonia. The head of their hierarchy was, after the king, the first personage of the empire. He everywhere accompanied the monarch, whose actions he directed according to the presages, and following the sacerdotal maxims. To him belonged the regency during interregnums.

With the religion of Babylon the worship of the Phenicians and of the nations of Syria and Palestine is intimately connected. The same as the Chaldæans, the populations of those lands admit a unique and universal being, confounded with matter, a world-god from whom emanate all things and all beings. The Hittites call him Sed or Set ; the Aramæans of Damascus, Hadad ; the Ammonites, Moloch ; the Moabites, Chamos ; the Phenicians and the Canaanites of Palestine, Baal (the Lord).

From the Phenician Baal come the secondary divinities, in whom are personified his attributes, his qualities, his diverse manifestations. To each of these operations cor-

responds a distinct hypostasis. Considered as the producer of beings he becomes Baal Tammuz, called also Adon (the Adonis of the Greeks) ; as conservator, Baal-Chon ; as destroyer, Baal-Moloch. Sometimes he is designated under the name of the places where he is the object of special worship, for instance, Baal-Sidon, Baal-Phegor. The Baal of Tyre is called Melkarth ; his temple serves as the religious centre of all the Phenician nation. Phenicia reveres its gods also in the stars, especially in the sun. Baal, a solar god, bears the name of Baal-Samim. Tammuz or Adonis, the god of the mysteries of Gebal (in Arabia Petræa), is the sun himself ; he dies and revives each year ; thence scenes of mourning, accompanied by orgies, which are reproduced in his mystic festivals.

With each Baal of the Phenicians corresponds a female divinity, Baaleth, who is the manifestation or counterpart of the male divinity. At Sidon they worshipped Baal-Sidon and Ashtoreth ; at Gebal, Tammuz and Baaleth ; at Carthage, Baal-Hammon and Tanith. The public worship of Phenicia, as that of Babylon, exhibits monstrous debauches, orgies, sacred prostitutions. But among the Canaanites the religious practices are generally imprinted with a character of atrocious barbarism ; they give themselves up to rigorous abstinences, voluntary tortures ; children are burned alive by their own parents in honour of Baal-Moloch.

This country also preserves its sacred books which it ascribes to the god Taaut, and which contain a cosmological system with the principles of religion and a social organization. From the most remote times the Phenician navigators spread their natural religion in distant parts. Vestiges of it are found in Cyprus, in Crete, and in many isles of Asia Minor. From the Ashtoreth of Sidon came the Aphrodite of Cythaera (in Cyprus). Rhodes offered human victims to Saturn. Thasos (Crete ?) had a temple celebrated for the Tyrian Hercules. The Cabiri of Lemnos and of Samothrace betray a Phenician origin. Carthage, daughter of Tyre, followed the same religion as her mother.

OSIRISM.

Before the things of this world and before the principles of things, there existed, according to the Egyptians, a unique being, immoveable in the solitude of his unity, without mixture of anything else. From him and from his image God, father and son in himself, the Spirit which penetrates all, disengaged himself spontaneously. In order to proceed with wisdom to the work of creation, he put forth into light the unknown force of hidden things.

This supreme creator is called Ammon or Kneph also Knuphis. Sometimes he receives the two names combined in Ammon-Kneph. He is the Father, the good God supremely (Agathademon), the living Spirit, the great Spirit of the intellectual world, the soul of the material world, the first of the gods, the Lord of the three regions. From the unique principle came spirit and matter, both imperishable and eternal. Matter contained in itself all the elements, on which spirit was to imprint form and movement. Infinite darkness extended over the abyss. On a sudden, in the bosom of eternal night, shines the primal light or Kneph, the first demiurge. His word makes itself heard, the world's egg is produced ; it contains the divine agent, the intelligence by which all will be arranged. The celestial word brings out of the world's egg that agent who is the second demiurge, Phtah, god of fire and of life, prolific and creative spirit. Phtah organises the world. Kneph unites the two natures, male and female ; but in the moment of creation he separated from himself a female being, Neith, who is the universal mother. In the same way, Phtah, male and female, produces a feminine principle Buto or Pasht, his spouse. Of Phtah and Buto is born Phré or the sun, the king and the right eye of heaven. Phré is the third demiurge, the supreme creative intelligence under its third form. He completes the Egyptian trinity (Kneph-Phtah-Phré) which in later ages will become incarnate in Osiris, the author of all good.

The divine word is personified in the first Thoth (Celes-

tial Hermes or the Trismegistos of the Greeks). This son of Ammon-Kneph, alone in the beginning, comprehended the essence of the Supreme God and of heavenly things. He is confounded with the divine intelligence itself, and is called by the demiurge "Soul of my soul, intelligence of my intelligence." He, before the creation, inscribed on pillars, in hieroglyphics, the principles of all knowledge, and composed the three sacred books, books which afterwards were revealed to the world by the second Thoth (terrestrial Hermes). Independently of the supreme trinity, Ammon-Phtah-Phré, there are others among the Egyptians, composed of a god, a goddess, his wife, and their son. These groups emanate the one from the other, from the supreme God down to the earthly divinities. Each of them is specially honoured in the chief city of a nome. The first of these trinitarian families is that of Thebes, which comprises Ammon-Ra, Mut, his spouse, and Chons, son of Ammon. The trinity of Memphis, which comes next, is formed of Phtah, the second demiurge, his spouse Buto, and Phré or Ra (the sun), their son. At Hermonthis the trinitarian personages are Month, with a hawk's head, Ritho, his spouse, and their son Harphé (Horus the sun).

Among these families there was one which was worshipped in all the countries of Egypt, that of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. This, it appears, is an imitation of that trinity which in public worship grouped a wife and son with the principal god of each nome.

The Egyptian theogony, like that of the Hindoos, rests on a system of continuous emanation. The gods beget each other; each divinity contains in himself the essence and the spirit of all those whom he produces. All the gods are one god, all the spirits one spirit, all the bodies one body. God and matter are confounded in a unique whole.

The world, which came forth from the mouth of Kneph, is the word manifested. In its turn it engenders without termination, and resembles an animal composed of matter and spirit. The world is a great divinity, image of a greater divinity, with whom the former is united, and in which he dwells as in the fecundating source of all existence.

There are three orders of gods. The first comprises eight primitive immaterial eternal gods, emanating from the supreme intelligence, and forming one with him. These are Ammon-Kneph, Neith, Phtah, Buto, Mendes, Tiphé, Thoth, and Phré. Phré or the Sun, the last of the gods of the Empyræum, is the first of the celestial gods, and the chief of a second ogdoade which he forms with the seven planets. Surrounded by the other gods he occupies the summit of the universe. There are twelve gods of the second order. Phré does not form a part of it, but he is its father. He reveals himself successively under the form of each of them. Among the gods of the second series is Atmu their chief, Djom or Djem, who inhabits the solar disk, Sevek or Seb, and Nephté his spouse. With the twelve gods of the second order, there are connected as satellites, thirty-six demons or decans, each of whom presides over a decade of gods placed under his orders. In all the religions of the world there exists a multitude of genii or demons, divided into several classes and subordinate one to the other. Some are good, the others bad. Intermediate between man and the divinity, and of a subtle nature, they preside over the elements and over bodies. Genii conduct human souls into life, enclose them in the mortal envelope, and keep constantly at their side. Space which extends from heaven down to the earth divides into two parts, of which one goes from the summit of heaven to the moon, and the other fills the sub-lunar spaces. The latter contain three zones ; the zone of the terrestrial air, which consists of four regions ; that of air in agitation, situated immediately above, which forms eight regions ; that of pure and light air which counts sixteen regions more elevated.

In the intention of peopling the higher spaces, the demi-urge, with a mixture of his breath, fire, and other substances, composes a pure matter, visible only to himself. Out of this he creates a multitude of souls of different greatness, but all immortal and proceeding from the same source. To each of these he assigns a post in the sphere of the air, forbidding them to quit it without his permission. They concur afterwards to form with him the other classes of ani-

mated beings. Those souls grow proud over their work, disobey and abandon their post. Incapable of remaining at rest, they run hither and thither, and in their wanderings covet material nature. Then God directs Hermes to create human bodies to serve as their prison. He promises them that if they keep themselves pure from crime, they shall be lifted up from their fall and return to the celestial regions. But if they give themselves up to evil, they shall undergo transmigrations under different animal forms, until the complete expiation of their sins. Those fallen souls yield to all the passions of the flesh, and fill the world with trouble and disorder. The earth and the elements raise their voices in complaint. Then God promises to send on earth an emanation of his essence to judge the living and to reward or punish the dead. This emanation is manifested in Osiris and Isis, divinities of the third order, or terrestrial, to whom is added Horus their son, the last god that reigned on earth.

Osiris and Isis, children of Sevek, and Nephté have for brothers and sisters Arueris (formerly Horus), Set or Sutekh (Typhon of the Greeks) and Nephtys his wife. Other gods or genii second them in their mission, among these the second Thoth (earthly Hermes) an incarnation of the first. Osiris and Isis rid the earth of the monstrous giants by which it is infected, and deliver the Egyptian people from the savage and miserable life which it had led till then. Instructed by Hermes, who reveals to them the mysteries of all the sciences, they give just laws, teach agriculture to men, and show them how to honour the gods. The second Hermes came to make known to the world the writings of Hermes Trismegistos. He creates a common language, gives names to objects that have none, invents letters, institutes sacrifices and the worship of the gods; teaches astronomy, music, gymnastics, the interpretation of languages, the principles of all the arts and all the sciences. That knowledge was deposited by him in forty-two books which the priests were to possess, either in part or in whole, according to their rank in the hierarchy. Hermes the second is the sacred scribe of Osiris, who confides to him

all his secrets, and attaches much value to his counsels. Osiris traverses the earth in order to teach men the culture of the vine, barley, and the making of cheese ; he visits Ethiopia, Arabia, India, and other Asiatic lands ; in Europe, Thrace Macedonia, Greece, he subdues and civilises the nations less by force of arms than by persuasion and by the charms of speech and music. In the absence of her husband, Isis governed with a firm and vigilant hand. On his return Osiris is killed by Typhon, who divides the body of his victim into twenty-six parts, and distributes them among his accomplices. After searching a long time she finds them all, excepting the sexual parts which had been thrown into the Nile.

The young Horus, confided by his mother to the goddess Buto, is hidden in the floating island of Chemnis ; he afterwards succeeds in conquering Typhon in several combats. Osiris is the pre-eminently good god. Typhon is the principle of evil, physical and moral. The popular religion of Egypt ends by concentrating itself in Osiris and Isis to whom the other divine personages are attached. Osiris unites in himself the different titles and characters of the Supreme Being from whom he emanates ; he is the creating God, the sun, the Nile. Descended to earth for the happiness of the human race, he is one with Kneph, the good god, the being of beings. Isis in the same way blends with Neith, the universal mother or Nature, in whose temple was this inscription,—“ I am all that has been, is, and ever will be ; no mortal man has to this time been able to lift the veil by which I am covered.” Osiris judges men's souls in Amenthes (Hell). They are brought before his tribunal by Hermes. According to the result of the examination, they ascend to the celestial regions or go into the bodies of animals to expiate their wrong doings. The purification of the guilty is effected in a circle of three thousand years, during which souls are subjugated to successive migrations. In the interval between one migration and another, popular belief makes them wander some time in the sublunar spaces, disengaged from bodily ties. The souls of the just return to the gods. Received by Genii, and purified of their

slight transgressions by a fire committed to the guard of four of them, they enter the abode where Osiris abides, and he becomes their chief and their king. They remain embedded in him and contemplate that ineffable beauty of which they can never be weary. After the manner of Osiris Hermes the second unites in his person all the attributes of the celestial Hermes. He is the incarnated intelligence, the law and the legislator identified with one another, the celestial nutriment, or the bread of life, "the oil of joy," (Is. lxi. 3,) the refreshing water of the cup of pity; whosoever drinks of this beverage has his thirst appeased and recovers strength. The myth of Osiris, become prevalent, receives all the emblems of the Egyptian theology, and accommodates itself to the ancient traditions as well as to the local beliefs; it comes into harmony with the celestial phenomena, the labours of agriculture and the periodical movements of the great river whose inundations fertilise the land. The worship of animals equally mixes with the religion of Isis and Osiris. The goddess, it is said, had entrusted the different parts of the body of her husband to the sacerdotal classes, leaving each of them to believe that he had recovered the entire body; accordingly tombs of Osiris rise in all the regions of Egypt. Each province had consecrated to him the animal which was the particular object of its worship, and which it regarded as a symbol or an incarnation of Osiris.

The Apis of Memphis, the Mnevis of Heliopolis, the ram of Mendes, the crocodile of lake Mœris, the lion of Leontopolis, were fed in the sacred enclosures and taken care of by the most considerable personages. They received homages by the singing of hymns, they were anointed with precious oils, the sweetest perfumes were burnt before them. They were covered with tapestry and rich ornaments, mourning was put on at their death; their funerals were magnificent. Each divinity of Egypt was represented under three different forms, the human form, some animal form, a human form with the head of an animal. From this symbolical mixture arose the worship of Serapis (Osiris-Apis.) Egypt was also a land of castes. The popu-

lation was divided into three orders—the priests, the warriors, the inferior classes. These formed several distinct tribes.

The soil was divided into three portions. The first and the most considerable belonged to the caste of priests. It supplied the cost of the sacrifices for the support of their subordinates, and for their own wants. The second portion formed the royal domain. The warriors enjoyed the third. The agriculturists were the tillers of the ground. The Pharaohs exercised an absolute sway. They were regarded as the image of the Supreme Deity. After their death they received divine honours. Priests were consecrated to pay them homage. The priesthood stood on equal ground with royalty, sometimes the former was master of the latter. The priests were revered equally with the gods, whose interpreters they were. As Hermes, their head and type, they had for their domain the human mind and the sciences; they passed for possessing extensive knowledge. Foreigners came to seek instruction from their lips.

Their character for sanctity subjugated them to the most minute and the most vigorous practices. They were circumcised, shaved their bodies, wore shoes made at Byblos, with a linen robe. They forbade themselves the use of mutton and pork, fish of all kinds, and the greatest number of greens; they were not allowed to marry each more than one wife. Egypt honoured its gods by ablutions and purifications, by animal sacrifices, by offerings of first-fruits, by hymns, by prayers, by processions and diverse other ceremonies. Certain festivals were accompanied by fasts, by lugubrious moanings, by flagellations; the phallus was carried in processions in honour of Osiris. There existed in the country numerous oracles, the most celebrated of which were those of Ammon, of Buto, of Neith, and of Horus.

Independently of the public festivals, there were mysterious ones in honour of Isis and Osiris. Persons were not admitted to these except after several trials, and in submitting to circumcision and to diverse purifications. The adepts were held to die in order to rise to eternal life. A secret doctrine was taught to the initiated. The Egyptians had three kinds of funerals—the rich, the poor, the

medium. The prices were fixed in a tariff. When the body was embalmed the judges assigned a day on which to pass over the lake of the province. The day fixed, they assembled to the number of more than forty, in a hemicycle placed beyond the lake. A bark was brought which was supplied with a pilot named Charon. Before it received the coffin containing the corpse, any person might bring a charge against the deceased. If he had led a bad life, a vote deprived his body of legal sepulture. When no accusation was made, or when what had been made was adjudged to be unfounded, the relations pronounced an eulogy on the departed, and entreated the infernal gods to admit him into the abode reserved for pious men.

HELLENISM.

At the commencement of our era, Hellenism reigned in all the countries of the Greek and Latin tongue, that is, where the religion of Christ first planted itself, grew, and was transformed. Among the Latins, Hellenism received the name of paganism, when, driven from the cities by the triumph of the Christians, it had no refuge except in the superstitious credulity of the inhabitants of the country (*pagani*).

At the epoch of the establishment of Christianity, the religion of the Hellenes was composed of three distinct parts—the public worship, the mysteries, and philosophy.

Public Worship.

In the beginning (says Hesiod), existed chaos, the earth in its vast bosom, the sombre Tartarus, and Love.

The earth brought forth first Uranus (the heaven) which united with its mother. From their union proceed among others the ocean (Oceanos) Japhet (Japheth, Gen. v. 32), Themis, Rhea, Mnemosyne, Saturn.

The last mutilates his father and becomes king of the gods; he marries Rhea who puts into the world Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune. The Fates having foretold that he would one day be dethroned by his son, Saturn de-


vours his children as fast as they are born. Rhea succeeds in concealing from him the birth of Jupiter, and has him brought up in the isle of Crete. Become of age, Jupiter conquers Saturn, subdues the Titans, and divides the administration of the world with his two brothers ; Jupiter is the king of heaven, Neptune of the sea, Pluto of the infernal regions. Jupiter marries several goddesses. The first is Metis whom he encloses in his side when she is on the point of bringing forth Minerva. Themis gives him for daughters Eunomia, Dicé and Irené ; by Ceres he has Proserpine ; by Mnemosyné the nine Muses ; by Latona, Apollo, and Diana ; by Maïa, Mercury (Hermes). Juno is Jupiter's last spouse and the queen of the heavens. Hebé and Vulcan are the fruits of their marriage. Minerva having come forth from Jupiter's head, Juno in her turn gives birth to Mars, the god of war. The king of the gods is far from presenting an example of conjugal fidelity. Goddesses, nymphs, simple mortals all minister to his passions. Juno persecutes her rivals ; frequent troubles rise in the celestial home. The world fills with a crowd of divinities born of legitimate or illegitimate connections, either between themselves or with them and the human race. This posterity grows without end, thanks to the popular fables and the imagination of the poets. Jupiter dwells on the top of Mount Olympus. The celestial Council over which he presides is made up of twelve great gods comprising himself. The eleven others are Neptune, Apollo, Mercury, Mars, Vulcan, Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Minerva, Diana, and Venus. Below them stand the divinities of a less elevated order, Genii or demons, good or bad, heroes or demi-gods. A multitude of nymphs people the sea, the rivers, the fountains, the forests, the trees, the mountains, the rocks, the caves. Each natural force, each place, each time has its divinity. Prometheus and Epimetheus, Japheth's sons, create the race of mortals. Man, made of earth and water, is animated by a ray which Prometheus steals from the celestial vault. The human soul, in separating from the body, descends into the lower regions, under the abysses of the earth. There are judges to examine his actions, and avenging deities to punish

his crimes. According to the quality of his deeds his soul is either tortured in Tartarus or enjoys the felicity of the Elysian fields. After a thousand years passed in hell, souls being purified drink of the water of Lethé, under whose influence everything is forgotten and they return to earth to animate new bodies. Men have lived in four different ages. The first, or the golden age, passed away under the reign of Saturn ; justice and virtue were spontaneously observed ; the earth bore its fruits without being tilled ; rivers of milk and nectar flowed over the plains. The silver age begins under Jupiter ; the year is divided into four seasons : excess of heat and cold are felt, men sow the fields. In the age of brass, which succeeds, men are more ready to fly to arms, but without yet having criminal instincts. Then comes the age of iron, the last. All crimes come forth, all virtues depart. The crimes of mortals kindle the celestial wrath. Jupiter inundates the earth with a deluge in which the human race perishes. Deucalion and Pyrrha alone survive to repeople it. Such are the principal ideas of Hellenism on the origin of the world, on gods and men. We here easily recognise sensible analogies with the religions of India and Egypt. The Jupiter of the Greeks unites in himself the qualities of Indra of the Hindoos. King of gods and men, he wields the thunder-bolt ; he holds his court on Mount Olympus, as Indra on Mount Meru ; he is the chief of the twelve great gods, as Indra of the twelve Adityas. But he has not over him that all-powerful trinity, from which Indra, its humble creature, received the government of the world. Hellenism does not reproduce the trinitarian conception, at least unless you are disposed to see a trace of it in the triple royalty of Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, or in the three sons of Saturn who divide among themselves the government of the world. From the Homeric ages, Jupiter, though subject to the decrees of fate, is more powerful than all the gods together. The estimate of his greatness increases from age to age. In the ages near our era his name denotes the Supreme God, sole creator and master of things. The idea of the oriental Word is found in Minerva (wisdom) who is born from Jupiter's head. Perhaps there is also a

recollection of the metaphysical personifications and emanations of the East in the union of Jupiter with Metis (intelligence) whence come Minerva, as in his marriage with Themis (justice) which gives birth to Eunomia, Dicé, Irené, (equity, right, peace). It would be easy to point out a number of resemblances in the attributes and functions of the gods or Genii of Greece and India ; but the Hellenes do not seem to have known the incarnations of the Supreme Deity, such as we see them in oriental religions. The children of the commerce of Greek divinities with the mortal race remain subject to the human condition. When by noble deeds or great virtues they gained the admiration and gratitude of men, they were, after their death, put into the rank of gods ; but if they have lived in vice and crime they are delivered over to infernal justice as other culprits. The worship of heroes has even this feature that while burning incense on their altars, the Greek none the less pour on the tombs libations intended to purify the souls of the dead. In contrast with Egypt, India, and the other countries of Asia, Greece did not allow the servants of the gods to form themselves into a special and privileged caste. Each divinity has his own priests. No common interest unites the priests of different temples one with another. Their lawsuits are carried before the ordinary tribunals. The law regulates public worship ; the magistrates of the city preside over the religious ceremonies. The first minister of a divinity is sometimes spoken of as high priest. Another watches over the ornamentation of the sacred places, and casts holy water on the persons who enter the temples. The victims are immolated by priests or sacrificers. The aurospices study the flight of birds and examine entrails. In certain places the first minister is called *father* (papa) and the first of the priestesses *mother*. The priests in the exercise of their functions wear garments rich and ornamented with symbols of the god whose servants they are. Their figure should be fine, their bearing noble, their voice sonorous. Some priestships are fixed in certain ancient families, and pass down from generation to generation. The temples enjoy the right of asylum, as well as the woods by which they

are surrounded, and the houses or chapels contained within the enclosure of those woods.

The temples are decorated with pictures and statues. The human figure is the only one under which they represent the divinity. The visage of the god is turned toward the setting sun. Those who offer sacrifices or prayers place themselves in front, regarding at once the east and the god. The altars are always less elevated than the images which are in the temple. The diviners read the future in the flight of birds and the entrails of victims. They also undertake the direction of consciences, and decide if certain actions are or are not in agreement with divine justice. At Rome there existed a college of pontiffs who exercised great power on all religious concerns. Their head, called the Supreme Pontiff (Pontifex Maximus, the title of the Pope), directed the ceremonies and extended his jurisdiction over public and private sacrifices, and over persons consecrated to the worship. The other priests were initiated by him; they assembled under his presidency. He dictated the forms of the public acts, regulated the year, preserved the annals, took part in adoptions, decided in certain questions touching marriage; he also gave exemption from certain ceremonies. To the altars of Jupiter was attached a flamen, who enjoyed very extensive privileges; two other flamines were adjoined to him, one consecrated to Mars, the other to Quirinus. The Vestals, or virgins of Vesta (goddess of the hearth and domestic life), were charged with the maintenance of the perpetual fire. Their vow of chastity and different distinctions imprinted on them a venerable character. There were other colleges of priests, among whom the Salii. These were dancers (*salire* to dance) in their processions, who kept the sacred bucklers, also the Feciales, who made declarations of war. In Hellenism, as in the Oriental worships, purification is the religious act to which recourse is oftenest made; it serves as a preliminary to ceremonies of all kinds. Souls are purified by water as well as bodies. Although sea water is accounted most suitable, use is generally made of lustral water. This name is given to ordinary water into which a brand is plunged taken from the altar while the victim



burns. Vases of the lustral water (holy water) are placed in the vestibules of the temples, in the places where the general assembly of the citizens is held, and around coffins wherein the dead are exposed to the view of passers-by. Purifications are of two kinds, expiatory, when the mercy of the gods is implored for committed wrongs ; preparatory, when protection is desired. The rites vary according to the object in view and according to the degree of superstition. Some persons throw themselves into a river or at least plunge the head into it several times. Most are satisfied with dipping their fingers into the lustral water, or with receiving aspersion given by a priest at the door of the temple. The priests purified new-born babes, persons entering a temple, those who have committed homicide even involuntarily, those who are afflicted with certain evils which are regarded as signs of the divine wrath. The temples themselves are purified, also the altars and other objects consecrated to the divinity, as well as cities, streets, houses, fields, finally all places that have been profaned, or on which it is wished that the favour of the gods may descend. Fire, salt, nitre, smoke, and agreeable odours are agents of purification. A secret virtue is attached to the incense that burns in the temples, as to flowers with which the head is crowned. A house becomes pure by the smoke of sulphur, and by the aspersion of water into which grains of salt have been thrown.

In the lustration of cities the victims destined for sacrifice are carried in procession round the walls. Every sacrifice to the gods is preceded by purification. If you address yourself to the divinities of heaven the immersion of the whole body is necessary ; aspersion suffices for the gods of hell. Each individual may himself offer a sacrifice on a public altar at his own door or in a domestic chapel. Those which are offered in the temples, whether by individuals or in the name of the State, are in the hands of the priests.

Sacrifices are, properly speaking, repasts destined for the gods, which are shared in by the attendants. To this purpose the ox, the sheep, the she-goat, the pig are consecrated. Other animals are also immolated to certain gods, these because they are loved, those because they are hated by the

gods. Every country, every temple, has its own usages. The victim must be without spot, defect, or disease.

The victim is divided among the gods, the priests, and those by whom it is offered. The share of the gods, set on the altar or in some other place, is consumed by the flames and rises in odours toward the sky.

The wealthy distinguish themselves by pompous sacrifices. The poorest offer small cakes bearing the imprint of a bull.

Public solemnities are celebrated with much magnificence. A number of lamps and wax candles burn in full day before the images of the gods. Flowers shine from all parts. Incense smokes through the temple. The priest, after tasting it, pours out milk, wine, or some other liquor. Prayers are recited. The victim is slain. During the sacrifice choirs of young people sing sacred hymns, accompanied by delicious music. As many as three hundred bulls have at the same time been led in great pomp to the altars. Nearly one-fourth of the year is consecrated to religious festivities. Games of all sorts, plays, dances, songs, gymnastic combats complete the spectacle. Processions (or pomps) pass through the thoroughfares of the cities around their enclosure, over the fields, and sometimes traverse spaces of several leagues. There may be seen persons of every age, both sexes, all conditions, old men, men of ripe years, boys singing hymns, children in simple tuniques, maidens of illustrious houses. Musicians play the flute and the lyre, rhapsodists sing the poems of Homer, dancers represent religious scenes; then come the priests and the sacred image, surrounded by the train special to the divinity in honour of whom the pomp is accomplished. They celebrate the return of the four seasons of the year, each of which has its own divinity. In the processions that precede the ripened corn they go round the fields with victims destined for the altars of Ceres. The cities place themselves under the patronage of a protecting divinity; at Athens it is Minerva, Juno at Argos, Diana at Ephesus, Mars at Rome. There are patron divinities for the towns, the villages, particular houses, for uninhabited places, for forests, mountains, rivers, fountains, grottoes; not a spot of earth but is under the protection of some

god. A similar protection extends over human beings, over animals. There is a god or genius of a people, a province, a city, a family; each man has also his genius, and even each member of the body. They divinise in personifying the virtues, the vices, plagues, maladies, the affections of soul and body; sacrifices and prayers are addressed to them. In the midst of this multitude of gods men are a prey to numberless superstitions. Signs of the celestial will are seen in all times, in all places, in eclipses, in thunder, in the phenomena of nature, in fortuitous occurrences. Happy or sinister presages are recognised in dreams, in unforeseen aspects of certain animals, the convulsive movements of the eyelashes, the tinglings of the ear, sneezing, words pronounced at random, and a number of other indifferent things; then recourse is had to diviners and sacrificers. These diviners and sacrificers in their turn besiege the houses of the opulent and persuade them if they or their ancestors have committed any crime, it may be expiated by sacrifices and enchantments, by festivals and games, in virtue of the power which heaven gives to the ministers of religion. They declare that they possess secrets to bind the power of the gods and to dispose of it at their pleasure. Thus they lead opulent persons to their own advantage by promising to palliate their misdeeds, to punish their enemies, to secure for them after death a place in the abode of the happy shades.

Particular virtues are attributed to certain amulets. Objects are preserved that have been sanctified by touching images, by sprinkling of holy water, or some other method of consecration. They venerate the mortal remains of divinities that have appeared among men; their dwellings, their vestments, or other things possessed by them. Pilgrimages are undertaken to distant regions to worship some relic or some divinity which is the object of special reverence.

Individuals say their prayers in the morning, the evening, at sunrise and sunset, when the moon passes above the horizon and when it begins to sink below. Sometimes the worshippers present themselves in the temple as suppliants

bearing branches in their hands ; they kiss the earth, they pray standing, on their knees prostrate, their hands raised heavenward, or extended to the divine statue. Before it they burn small wax candles, they fasten on their knees waxen tablets on which their requests are written. A sacrifice is offered to the gods for any success, for a disease, for the least danger, for a frightful dream, and in all the important circumstances of life.

We have said that children were purified in lustral water immediately after their birth, marriages and funerals also have their particular ceremonies. When the conditions of a marriage have been drawn up by a public officer, the couple repair to the temple, accompanied by their parents and their friends. Sacrifices are offered to the gods ; the priests consult the entrails of victims, to learn if heaven approves the union ; if the signs are favourable the parents join the hands of the pair who swear to each other inviolable fidelity. Among the Romans there is sent to the bride, as a token and a pledge, a ring which she puts on the fourth-finger of the left hand. The new spouse is attired in a long robe, and wears on her head a veil of bright yellow hue. To her the husband presents some gold pieces in a vase. On entering their home she takes care not to touch the threshold, and to avoid the danger she is lifted over it. Then she touches fire and water, and the keys of the house are put into her hands. Marriages are not celebrated during the month of May. In Hellenism mournful cares precede the funeral ceremony. When a person is seriously ill, branches of laurel and acanthus are suspended at the door of the house. The relatives gathered around the bed, address prayers to Mercury, the conductor of souls.

After death the body is washed, perfumed, and clad in a valuable robe. On the head, covered with a veil, is put a crown of flowers, in the hands a cake of meal and honey, in the mouth a piece of silver to pay the ferry man over the Styx. The deceased, surrounded by lighted wax candles, is exposed for the whole of one day in the vestibule of the house. A vase of lustral water is placed at the entrance for the purification of those who touch the body.

The conveyance to the place of burial takes place before sunrise. It is accompanied by parents, and friends: the men walk before the body, the women behind, all clad in black. A choir of musicians precedes and produces lugubrious chants. The corpse is burnt near the family tombs; the nearest relatives gather up the ashes, and place the urn that contains them in the earth. During the ceremony libations of wine are offered, some garments of the deceased are thrown into the fire. The departed is invoked with a loud voice. Then comes the funereal repast. The relatives come together again on the ninth and the thirtieth day afterwards, to render honours to the manes of the defunct. A general festival of the dead is celebrated at a certain time of the year. It is a religious belief that if the mortal remains are not buried, the soul is stopped on the borders of the Styx, and appears in dreams to those who ought to be interested in it until the body has received the last honours.

Public worship is established by law. The magistrates are charged to support it and to oppose innovations which tend to overturn it. They pay little attention to what is said as to the origin and the nature of the gods, nor even to the pleasantries uttered on their actions; but they prosecute and punish with death those who speak against their existence, who despise their statues, and who violate the secrets of the mysteries that are authorised by the Government.

The Mysteries.

The institution of the Mysteries goes back to the earliest periods of Hellenic civilisation. The mysteries of Samothrace were celebrated in the night in honour of the divinities called Cabiri, whose names and attributes were known to none but the initiated. When the purifications had for their object the purification of crime they were preceded by a confession heard by one of the priests. The priests declared that the adepts, purified by them, became just and holy. The Cactyles, the Corybantes, the Duretes, the Telchines who celebrated mysteries in the province of Asia, in Phrygia, in Crete, in Rhodes, were priests of the same family, though

there were differences among them. All were distinguished in their religious festivities by enthusiasm, by fury, and shouts, by the noise of timbrels, drums, and flutes. They appear as the first instructors of the Greek clans ; their secret doctrine had specially for its object rewards and punishments of the future life. The most celebrated mysteries of Hellenism were those of Ceres at Eleusis, a city not far from Athens. What we are about to say of these will give some idea of the others.

Among the ministers of the temple of Eleusis were four superior ones—the Hierophant, the Dadouque, the Hierokeryx, and the Epibome. The principal function of the Hierophant consists in initiating novices in the mysteries. He is clothed magnificently, wears a diadem, sits on a throne ; he must be of middle age, and possess a soft and sonorous voice. The Dadouque, equally decorated with a diadem, carries the sacred torch in the ceremonies, and purifies those who present themselves for initiation. The Hierokeryx keeps the profane at a distance, and maintains silence among the initiated. The Epibome aids the Hierophant in his functions. These four ministers have marks of distinction which are common to them. They are Hieronyms ; it is forbidden to call them differently to their official titles. Below them stand secondary agents, such as interpreters, singers, officers charged with the processions and ceremonies. There are also priestesses consecrated to the worship of Ceres. They may initiate certain persons, and offer on certain days sacrifice for individuals. The priesthood is hereditary among the ministers of Ceres. They observe continence and abstain from certain aliments. The archon-king exercises the superintendence of the mysteries. He has the right to exclude culprits, to sacrifice and put up vows for the people. Four administrators or Epimeletes aid him in the last function. The priests of Eleusis, have a special tribunal to which they are themselves answerable, and which principally takes cognizance of the crime of profanation or impiety. Confiscation of property and death are pronounced against profaners. The causes which concern the religious practices of the mysteries are judged by the Eumolpedes, the

depositories of the traditional laws. Barbarians and strangers are excluded from initiation. But you may obtain initiation, if you are adopted by an Athenian. Nevertheless the interdiction is absolute for the Medes and Persians, who, at the time of the invasion of Xerxes, broke the statues of the gods and burned the temple of Eleusis. Exclusion is observed also against homicides, magicians, seditious persons, traitors to their country, all in a word who have not pure hands. Slaves and bastards cannot enter the temple, or take part in the sacrifices and other ceremonies. The Athenians are admitted to initiation in early years. Those who abstain during life claim it before dying, in the fear of the punishments of the other world. According to the general belief, the initiated go to inhabit the Elysian fields, while the abodes of darkness and horror await other men. The ceremonies of initiation are preceded by expiatory sacrifices. The initiated wear a crown of myrtle; their beds are surrounded with purple, coloured bands by way of allegory of the future life. The perfect ones are held to pass through death to reach a spiritual revival. During the festivities they abstain from fowl, fish, pomegranates, beans, and some other fruits or vegetables. The robe worn during initiation is preserved with superstitious respect. Some make thereof swaddling clothes for their infants or consecrate it to Ceres as a sacred relic.

There are the greater and the minor mysteries. Each is celebrated every year, the minor at the approach of spring, the major at the approach of autumn. The minor mysteries are celebrated in a temple situated near Athens, on the banks of the Illissus; they serve as a preparation for the greater. A priest of the second order instructs and examines the candidates. He excludes those who have had to do with enchantments, or have committed a crime, especially manslaughter, even involuntary. The others are subjected to frequent expiations. The priest communicates to them some germs of the sacred doctrine, and exhorts them to earn the benefit of initiation by purity of mind and heart. The noviciate never lasts less than a year; sometimes it is prolonged during several years.

The festivities of the greater mysteries occupy a certain number of days. The first are passed in acts of piety such as purifications, sacrifices, processions, sacred dances, fasts, lamentations. Most of these exercises take place during the night. A procession of the initiated proceeds to the shore of the sea, whose waters have a lustral virtue : on another occasion a procession with torches takes place. The adepts leave the sanctuary during the night, and walk two and two in profound silence, each holding a lighted torch. On returning to the temple they run to figure the efforts of Ceres in her search for her daughter ; in their evolutions they shake their torches and pass them from hand to hand. The flame which bursts forth has the virtue of purifying souls ; it seems to exhale a divine odour. In its turn comes the celebration of the gymnastic games. The conqueror receives a measure of barley which has been gathered in a neighbouring plain, the inhabitants of which, instructed by the goddess, have sowed the land before others. In the night of the sixth day the ministers and the initiated bear from Athens to Eleusis the statue of Iacchus, who is represented as a child at the breast. The god, crowned with myrtle and a torch in his hand, advances to the sound of sonorous brass. Behind him goes the mystic van, an emblem of the separation of the initiated from the profane, the sacred basket and other symbolical objects. Thirty thousand persons take part in this procession. The air resounds with the name Iacchus mingled with hymns ; they go down the sacred road which leads from one city to another ; the statue is introduced into the temple of Eleusis and thence carried back into its own with the same display and the same ceremonies.

At last comes, in a mystic night, the moment of initiation or Eoptée. The herald cries : "Far from here be the profane, the impious, and all those whose souls are stained with crime !" After this warning, the penalty of death awaits him who remains in the assembly without having the right to do so. The initiated are subjected to new purifications on the outside of the temple ; they wear a certain initiatory

dress, and plunged into darkness, wait under the vestibule until the gates are opened.

Suddenly a low noise is heard ; the temple shakes, the earth groans ; the thunder and lightning show phantoms and spectres wandering in the darkness ; howlings and groanings terrify and freeze. They advance into a cave by the light of a feeble lamp ; a picture of the infernal regions unrolls before their eyes ; then they re-enter into the sacred enclosure ; the doors of the Sanctuary open, the statue of Ceres appears covered with silver and gold, and clad in magnificent vestments. Reflections of light, artistically managed, make the statue shine with divine brilliancy. The principal ministers gather round it ; the Hierophant represents the demiurge ; the Dadouque, the sun ; the Epibome, the moon ; the Hierokyryx, Mercury (Hermes) ; the attendants, the World.

What was the doctrine taught in these mysteries ? Was it always the same ? There prevails much uncertainty on these points. The following is the most probable. The mysteries of Greece preserved the rites, the ceremonies, the symbols of those of Egypt ; only the names of the gods were changed. Isis, Osiris, Typhon, and Horus were replaced by Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto and Iacchus. The journies of Ceres in search of Proserpine offer the same incidents and the same scenes as those of Isis in search of Osiris. The exercises of the initiated represented the phases of the cycle of Ceres. It seems that originally they in these mystic exhibitions symbolised the cosmogony and the great operations of nature. Afterwards they introduced a picture of the benefits of agriculture and law, as well as a lively image of the rewards and pains of the future life. In later days the history of Ceres underwent a transformation ; from allegories of the physical world they passed to those of the moral world. The priests never, perhaps, had a fixed and unchangeable body of doctrine ; their instruction seems to have unfolded itself from century to century, while imbibing the loftiest theories of philosophical science.

It cannot be doubted that in principle the mysteries were an effective means of civilisation, and shed abroad among

men, with the hope of a future life, elevated ideas of the divinity. This religion, destined for the citizens alone, served to counterbalance the popular superstitions. It continued to remain in honour and veneration among the adepts down to the last years of Hellenism. Independently of the mysteries of Eleusis there were at Athens other festivals of Ceres, called Thesmophories, to which women alone were admitted. The mysteries of Ceres spread into different countries of Greece, and into Sicily. That island passed for being specially consecrated to Proserpine. The festivals of the two goddesses were celebrated there with splendour. Bacchus also was in Greece, the object of a mysterious worship, in which reigned the greatest licence. The festivals of Venus and Adonis passed from the coasts of Syria into Hellenic lands. Egypt, which seems to have been the cradle of these institutions, saw itself, in its turn, invaded by foreign mysteries. Under the reign of the Ptolemies they abounded in Alexandria. Mixed rites were formed there which were designated by the name of Alexandrine, and which from Egypt propagated themselves into Greece and the western parts. At Rome for a long time they had only the mysteries of Fauna or the good goddess, an indigenous divinity which presided over chastity. They were specially denominated the *Roman Mysteries*. These festivals, from which men are excluded, were celebrated by night, in presence of the Vestals, and in the house of the Consul. They maintained themselves pure during the fine ages of the Republic; but under the empire they did not escape from the general corruption. The Thesmophories were established at Rome a short time after the expulsion of the kings. The great mysteries of Ceres were never received into the city. During the second Punic War they transported in great pomp into Rome the statue of the mother of the gods, whose mysteries were always celebrated according to the rites of Phrygia, and by priests of that country. Ancient hymns were sung in the Greek language. The divinities of Egypt obtained access to Rome with difficulty. The year 58 B.C. the Senate drove from the capitol Seraphis, Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis, which had been

introduced. Pelasgic Isis reappeared about the time of the last civil wars. Her festivals had many partisans, especially under the successors of Augustus.

The mysteries of Venus and Adonis also installed themselves in the capital of the world. Bacchus Sabazius, expelled in 514 A.C., succeeded in again getting foothold in the city in the reign of Domitian (81-96). If the mysteries had had good effects as long as they retained their primitive purity, most of them, owing to their nocturnal ceremonies, became ceaseless occasions of dissolution, when beliefs were weakened and morals deteriorated.

PHILOSOPHY.

Among the Oriental nations the existence of Sacerdotal castes did not allow the philosophic spirit to unfold itself on the outside of religion. They possessed the exclusive domain of the intellectual sciences. The conceptions acquired were veiled by emblems and transmitted under the seal of mystery to adepts of long standing.

Greece did not undergo the domination of a caste of this nature. Hence, perhaps, came the fact that it was foreign to philosophical speculations down to the times of Pythagoras and Plato. But also to the absence of a powerful priesthood it owed both its political liberty and the independence of its genius in the arts and the sciences. When the taste for philosophy awoke in the country, students went for instruction at first to the schools of Egypt and the East. Soon after, the Greek spirit became independent, and threw a strong light on all the ancient world. Thales of Miletus, who leads the way, in the sixth century A.C., applies himself specially to the search after the origin and principle of things. According to him, it is humidity or water. He founds the school of Ionia. Some of his disciples suspect another generative principle. These find it in air, those in the earth or in fire ; others admit the eternal existence of fixed particles, which, in uniting, form the elements and the worlds. From the search after the material principle of things, the school of Ionia progressively rose to the

intelligent Cause which framed the world. Anaxagoras of Clazomene (on the coast of Ionia) is the first who distinguished it from matter. All things, he says, were at first confounded in an eternal primitive mass ; but intelligence acted on that mass, and chaos gave way to marvellous order.

In regard to the Ionian school another doctrine is founded among the Greek colonies of Italy. Pythagoras is its promoter. Born at Samos in the year 584 A.C., that philosopher had himself initiated into the mysteries of the different nations. He penetrated into the sanctuaries of Egypt, whose secrets were revealed to him. The Chaldeans had taught him the science of Numbers. On his return, finding his native land under the domination of a tyrant, he goes into Italy, and at Crotona establishes an institute which unites a political object to the study of philosophy. It seems that he wished, in imitation of the East, to create a kind of Sacerdotal caste, which should constitute an aristocracy in the state. This unhappy attempt brings the dispersion of the society and the death of its founder. None the less does the philosophical school of Pythagoras subsist during nearly two centuries, under the name of the Italian School. He is revered by his disciples as a supernatural being. In the fragments that remain to us it is difficult to distinguish the work of the master from that of the disciples. The numbers or cyphers, according to their doctrine, constitute the essence of things. The Monad (Unity) is the absolute principle of all perfection ; the Dyad (Duality) is that of imperfection. The unequal numbers proceeding from the Monad, are limited and complete ; the pairs, engendered by the Dyad, are incomplete and illimited. The world is a harmonious whole, of which the spheres move according to the laws of music. The central fire produces the heat of life. It penetrates everything. The stars are so many divinities. There exist Genii or Demons, an intermediate species between gods and men. The Supreme God is the universal principle of all beings. The human soul emanates from the central fire, and may be united to bodies of all kinds ; it is obliged to traverse a certain series.

There is a distinction between the animal soul and the reasonable soul—the former resides in the heart, the latter in the brain. The Pythagorean morality offers few developments. Moral good is one and determinate ; evil multiform and indeterminate. Virtue consists in the harmony, the unity of the soul, and in its resemblance with God.

From Thales and Pythagoras to Socrates you see a number of sects appear, the struggles of which produce uncertainty of principles, and with it *sophistry*. Affecting universal knowledge, the sophists advance all sorts of propositions, and with the aid of logical artifices, triumph in the eyes of the wonder-stricken crowd. A new direction opens in the end ; from purely speculative opinions, they pass to questions of the practical order. The movement proceeds from Athens ; SOCRATES gives the impulse. Born in that city in 469 A.C., that philosopher is led, by an interior vocation, to make himself the preceptor of his fellow-citizens. His conversations bring around him a number of young men, and men of ripened age, whom his words inspire with sentiments more just, and ideas more lofty. Socrates exposes the fallacies of the Sophists. Without founding a system, properly so called, he represses the flights of speculation, and directs minds to ideas of the moral and religious order. Man, he says, ought first of all to seek to know his own nature, the duties which are imposed upon him, the object toward which he should tend. Wisdom is the source of all the virtues ; it teaches temperance, force of soul, justice. Happiness springs from virtue and moral perfection. Piety consists in honouring the gods by the practice of virtue. The Supreme God is the principle of all good. The proof of his existence is drawn from the order and harmony of the universe. His providence provides for our wants ; his power and wisdom govern the world which they organised. The soul is of a divine nature ; it approaches God by reason. An accusation of impiety brought against Socrates caused him to be condemned to death, which he suffered in the year 400 A.C. He left no writings. His doctrines are propagated by his disciples, some of whom found schools. Antisthenes,

chief of the Cynics, teaches that there is nothing beautiful but virtue, nothing ugly but vice. The Cyrenaïcs, disciples of Atristippus of Cyrene, say that the end of man consists in the enjoyments of life, accompanied by liberty of spirit, and good taste. Pyrrho, the founder of the sceptical school, proclaims that virtue alone is of value, and that in all the rest there is neither utility nor certitude. Euclid at Megara, and Phaedon at Elis, perfected Dialectics, according to the ideas of Socrates. Each of these schools embraces only one of the branches of philosophy, some the moral or practical part, others the theoretical or metaphysical part ; they end by melting away into general instructions. Four complete systems of dogmatic philosophy come from the school of Socrates ; they have for authors Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno. PLATO, born at Athens in 429 A.C., had during eight years attended the lessons of Socrates. In his travels in Italy, in Sicily, in Egypt, at Cyrene, he keeps up an intimate intercourse with the disciples of Pythagoras, and goes to the bottom of the science of the priests. The wars of Asia prevent him from visiting the Magi and the Indians. Initiated in the doctrines of different schools, Plato seeks to harmonise them in a system which embraces the whole of philosophy ; he borrows physics from Heraclitus, metaphysics from the Pythagoreans, morals from Socrates, and makes of the whole a single body which seems his own creation. His school opens in the Academy at Athens. His doctrine and his eloquence make such an impression on men's minds, that he receives the title of *divine*. The rumour gets abroad that he is a son of Apollo.

The cosmogony and the theology of Plato are, as those of Pythagoras, derived from the oriental doctrine. He admits three eternal principles ; God, typical ideas, matter. God is one, immaterial, infinite, all-powerful ; he is the sovereign good, the source of justice and of truth, the supreme intelligence whence emanates all else ; he is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all being. The typical ideas are incorporeal and simple. From them God drew the models of what is and will be. There exists only one exemplar or pattern for each species ; things partake of the ideas by

their resemblance to them ; reason alone can conceive the ideas. Matter is uncreated, incorruptible, infinite in extent, susceptible of all modifications and all forms. It is none of the simple elements, and we cannot say whether it is incorporeal or not. Its ambiguous nature escapes from thought and sense ; we form only a vague and confused opinion of it.

The universe was formed according to a changeless model, conceived from all eternity by reason or the divine intelligence. It was produced because God, being good, wished that all, as far as possible, should be good like himself. Visible things were agitated by a confused and disorderly movement; intelligence, mingled therewith, subjected them to order ; it united itself to matter under infinite forms, and organised the universe, a work of perfect goodness and beauty. In the writings which remain to us by Plato (if we pass over the letter to Dionysius, the authenticity of which raises doubts), that creative intelligence (Nous) is not clearly personified and distinguished from the Supreme God ; you would rather take it for one of his faculties, that by which he formed and governs the world. It is Plato's school which, in posterior times, approaching oriental sources, made of that intelligence a distinct person emanating from the supreme God. Hence two divinities, which are characterised thus :—The first God, existing by himself, is simple, and can undergo no distraction ; he is the king, and, as such, remains estranged from all work. He is the *autoagathon*, good in itself or in its essence ; he is properly called the good (*tagathon*), or the being (to on). This being, perfect from all eternity, begets eternally. He is the father of the Second God ; he is the head of all beings present and future. All men emanate from him, and, as long as they exist, they draw their hypostatical existence from his antecedent and necessary existence. The greatest essence of all, after him, is his son, the second god, the creative intelligence, the word (*Logos*) of the father. This second god is one as his father ; but when he applies to matter to create and govern the world, he unites it, and is divided by it.

The first god persists in his immobility ; the second is always in movement. The first is inclusively in intellectual things ; the second adds to intellect what belongs to sensation. The first god or the essentially good god, is the typical idea of the second god or the Demiurge, who is good only by communication from the essentially good god, whom he imitates. The Demiurge fixes his eyes on the supreme god. In that contemplation he acquires the discernment of wisdom, and in his operation towards him, active life. The son is united with the father by necessity in such a way that there is no other distinction between them than a different existence. The son created everything ; he governs everything while traversing the skies ; when on his journeys he is sent over the inferior regions, intelligence acquires vigour in all beings destined by their faculties to share therein.

The universe is an animal endowed with an intelligent soul. Formed in resemblance to a model which comprises all intelligent animals, it itself contains all visible animals. It is unique like its model. The soul of the universe was created before the body which it was destined to conduct. It is formed of the indivisible essence (the same) of the divisible essence (the other), and of a third essence which contains the two first, and is intermediate between them.

The body of the universe is composed of earth and fire bound together by air and water. The whole of the four elements enter into composition ; and it is filled with harmony by the proportional relations that are established between them. It has a spherical form, for that is the most perfect, and the movement of rotation, that of the seven movements with which the spirit and the intelligence has the most affinity. The supreme architect afterwards united the soul and the body of the universe by placing the middle of the one on the middle of the other. The soul pervades all the parts of the body which it envelopes. Thus was created a spherical heaven, which has a circular movement. This spherical heaven is unique, solitary, able to unite with itself by its own force, having need of nothing foreign, knowing itself, and sufficiently loving itself, god perfectly blessed.

The soul, then, extending all through heaven, from its centre to its extremities, and surrounding it with a circular envelope, commenced, by turning on itself, a life divine and wisely ordered for all the succession of time. The body of heaven is visible, the soul remains invisible. Sharing in the reason and the harmony of intelligent beings, it is the best of things produced by the best of beings. The soul of the world is the third person of the Platonic trinity. You find in it three primal hypostases ; God the Father, or the King, God the Son, or the Demiurge, finally the soul of the universe which proceeds from God the Son. With these hypostases correspond the three primal orders—the divine, the intellectual, and the principle of souls. From the divine emanate things, from the intellectual conceptions, from the principle of souls, articulate words. The universe then was produced according to the model eternally conceived in the thought of the supreme God. But that which is produced not being able to be completely eternal, time was created for the universe—time the changeable image of Eternity. Born together, time and the universe will perish together, if they are destined to perish. The sun, the moon, and the planets determine the phases and the duration of time. The light of the sun lights up the course of the stars ; the entire heaven is resplendent therewith.

The universe, which must reproduce all the features of its eternal model, lacked as yet the animated beings that are comprehended in the idea of animal in and by itself. There are four species—the celestial race of the gods, the genus birds, the genus fishes, and the genus biped or quadruped. The race of gods comprises the visible gods and the invisible. The first are the stars fixed or wandering which shine in the vault of heaven. God gave them the round form as to the universe itself, the knowledge and the love of good, rotatory motion, and the motion of transference. The earth, our nurse, is the first and the most venerable of these divinities. The invisible gods are demons which manifest themselves only as much as they please. For all that concerns them we must, says Plato, refer to those who spoke of them of old, and who doubtless knew the history of those

gods from whom they professed to descend. We have to receive the accounts that they give of them although they are devoid of convincing or probable proofs. All the gods, visible or invisible, are immortal by the will of the eternal God by whom they were formed.

If the other species of animated beings had received birth and life from the supreme Demiurge, they would have equalled the race of the gods ; since there are to be mortal races it is to these that the office of creating them was consigned. These new races were to be composed of a divine part and a mortal part. The supreme creator furnished the principle and the seed of the divine part. In consequence he forms a compound, resembling that which composes the soul of the universe ; only in the new combination, the essence is two or three times less pure. He sheds these souls, some upon the earth, others into the moon or the other planets. The gods have it in charge to make mortal bodies, to give to the soul all the perfections that are necessary to it, and which it yet lacks, to command this mortal animal, and to direct it the best possible ; if, however, it does not itself become the cause of its own ruin. For the formation of the body of the mortal animal, the gods borrow from the universe particles of fire, air, earth, and water, which some day are to return to their source ; and by their combination they make bodies possessed of the necessary organs. They establish in those bodies the revolutions of the immortal soul, in the midst of the continual flux and reflux of the corpuscular parts.

The first generation is the same for all mortal animals. The other species have an origin not different from that of man. They are men transformed in successive generations. Each passes by transmigration, into the body of the animal which has the greatest resemblance to the faculties and inclinations which he possessed in life.

Thus this world, the unique heaven and sole divine product, a sensible god made in the image of the intelligent god, was filled with animated beings, mortal or immortal. Of all the visible gods which it contains, he who is the finest work of the creator and his exact representation, is

the sun. In the visible sphere, he is, in regard to sight and to bodies, what God is in the ideal sphere, in regard to intelligence and intelligent beings. They are two kings, one of the intelligent world, the other of the visible world.

The ancient traditions which have come down to us regarding the invisible gods have without doubt undergone alterations. We must not believe that there are among them enmities, hatreds, combats or other strange actions, which are related by poetry and represented by painting. Let us guard against ascribing to the gods the passions and disorders of humanity, and specially to teach such stories to the young. Whether they conceal allegories or not, a child cannot distinguish what is allegorical from what is not ; and whatever is imprinted on his mind leaves there indelible traces. The race of the gods dwells in the higher regions. Jupiter reigns in heaven and governs all things. He is followed by the army of the gods and the devils who are governed by twelve great deities. When they proceed to the banquet which awaits them, the gods ascend to the loftiest summit of the vaulted heavens. Arrived there, they leave heaven and place themselves on its circumference. The circular movement carries them away, and they contemplate what is on the outside of the universe. In the spaces above heaven resides the true science, which has for its object Essence without colour, without form, impassible, science toward which intelligence alone can direct its eye. The thought of the gods is nourished on intelligence and pure science, with delight does it contemplate truth and enjoy extreme felicity, until the circular movement has brought them back to the point of departure. During this revolution, the celestial souls see justice in itself, wisdom in itself, science in itself, that is, they see what is in the Veritable Being. After having thus contemplated all the essences and fed themselves thereon, they replunge into the interior of the heaven and re-enter their abode.

Such is the life of the gods. Human life being composed of the nature of the same, of the nature of the other, and of an essence sprung from a mixture of the two first, it results that there are in man three kinds of souls, each of which


inhabits a distinct region, and directs itself by particular movements ; the superior soul, whose seat is in the head ; the irascible soul which is placed in the bosom ; the concupiscent soul which resides in the lower parts of the abdomen. The superior soul, properly called soul, is alone celestial in origin, and shares in immortality. This soul is invisible, immaterial, and very similar to the divine nature. Human souls, like those of the gods, aspire to contemplate the essence without colour, without form, and impalpable, justice in itself, wisdom in itself, science in itself ; they make an effort to succeed therein. That soul which most resembles the divine souls rises to the exterior region, where it is carried away by the circular movement, but it feels much disturbed, and can scarcely see the essences ; it catches a glimpse of only some of them. Most souls, notwithstanding their desires and efforts, cannot attain to the high regions ; they are born into the inferior space where they throw themselves the one against the other ; after much fatigue they retire without being able to contemplate the essences and are reduced to feed themselves on conjectures. The following is the law which governs human souls. That soul which accompanies the divine souls, and succeeds in getting a sight of some of the essences, is exempt from all suffering until a new revolution. If it does not cease to follow the gods, it never experiences any evil. But when the soul cannot advance on the path of the gods, or contemplate the essences, and when by feeding on vice and oblivion, it grows heavy and falls to the earth ; then, in the first generation, it enters into the body of a man. The soul, which has contemplated most of the essences, goes to form a man who will consecrate himself to the worship of wisdom, beauty, the muses, and love ; the soul which obtains the second rank, forms a just, warlike king, able to command ; that of the third rank, a politician, a speculator ; the fourth, an effective athlete or a physician ; the fifth, a diviner or a juggler ; the sixth, a poet or some other artist ; the seventh, an artizan or hand labourer ; the eighth, a sophist or a demagogue ; the ninth, a tyrant. In all these states, those who live justly obtain

after death a better lot. Those who lead an unjust life fall into a worse condition. The soul cannot before ten thousand years rise from the fall and return to the place whence it started, unless it be the soul of a man who cultivated philosophy with sincerity. Such a soul, when it pursues the same road three times in succession, recovers its wings and takes its flight at the end of the third revolution of a thousand years. The genius who is charged with guiding each man during life, conducts his soul after death, into the place where the judgments are given. There they separate the good from the bad. The good and the evil things of this world are nothing, either as to number or grandeur in comparison with those which are reserved in the other life for virtue and vice. The soul which leaves the body sullied and impure from having too much loved and served, retains something of the materialistic form. Then weighed down and dragged away toward the visible world by horror of what is invisible and immaterial, it wanders around monuments and tombs where the eye may perceive it. Its appetites at last take it back into the body of an animal, the habits of which correspond with those of its anterior life. Nevertheless, it enters into life only after having undergone in hell the punishments to which it was condemned. If it proves incurable, on account of the grossness of its wrongdoing, it is hurled down into Tartarus, which it never leaves. The soul whose sins may be blotted out, although very great, is also cast into Tartarus, but after a certain time it goes forth if it can move those in its favour toward whom it made itself guilty. The soul which is neither entirely criminal nor entirely innocent, is sent to Acheron. After being purified there by suffering chastisement for its faults, it receives far from these, the reward of its good deeds. The souls of men who have observed justice and temperance, without the aid of philosophy or thought, enter, after their death into the bodies of animals, mild and sociable in nature or even into human bodies. Those who have lived in irreproachable sanctity are delivered from these earthly places as resembling prisons, and go to occupy a place in that abode so pure, that land which is there above. Those

who have been entirely purified by philosophy, enter into still finer dwellings ; to these only is it given to attain to the rank of the gods. On this account it is, namely, for having communion with the pure, simple, and divine essence, that the true philosopher shows himself temperate and courageous. His soul imposes silence on his passions, takes reason for its guide, and feeding on the contemplation of what is true, divine, and beyond the domain of opinion, it firmly believes that it is to live thus during this life, and that after death, it will go to unite with what is like itself, freed from the evils that attach to human nature. The principal object of moral philosophy is, according to Plato, the happy life, or the supreme good. The first and most excellent of good things are those which exist by themselves that is the Supreme God and the highest intelligence (Nous, Logos). Then come, and of the same source, the virtues of the soul, prudence, justice, continence, courage. External good, such as health of body, strength and vigour, riches, are not good in the absolute sense. That alone is good which is honourable, that alone is evil which is shameful.

Virtue is the first of the good things that are in us ; it is the most noble and best condition of the soul ; it is given to us by our will.

There is a medium between the Virtues and the Vices, a kind of middle term, whence ensue actions, these condemnable, those commendable. Man at his birth is absolutely neither good nor bad ; his nature inclines him equally toward good and toward evil. At the first he has certain germs of the virtues and the vices, germs which education develops in favour of the one or the other. Men completely virtuous on the one side, and altogether depraved on the other, are so rare that they may easily be numbered—the majority consists of those who are neither completely good nor constantly bad. He whom nature prompts to seek the true good does not think himself born only for himself, but for all men. The true sage ought to be superior to other mortals in genius, prudence, talents ; his soul, pure from passion, lives in abstinence and patience, and is full of zeal for the sound doctrines of reason and



eloquence. When he is free from vice and furnished with what leads to the happy life, the sage justly feels that he no way depends on other men, but that everything is in his own power. The sage alone is rich, for alone he possesses virtue, much more precious than all treasures. The absence of gold does not make poverty, but the presence of immoderate desires. Nothing that the bulk of men dread as evil can injure the sage. Relying on his conscience, calm and trustful, he accepts all events with equanimity, and is persuaded that his interests are in the hands of the immortal gods. He awaits the day of death without sadness, and without apprehension, but he does not anticipate the appointed time. He has faith in the immortality of the soul. His soul, set free from bodily ties, returns to the gods, and, as a reward of a pure and holy life, obtains celestial felicity. He alone is inflamed with a noble passion for good who has seen it with the eyes of the soul. To be ignorant of the true good is also to hate it; as a consequence it is to be the enemy of virtue, and the friend of disgraceful voluptuousness. The sage is he who walks in the train of God, imitates and follows him. The object of the sage is to rise to the divine perfection. He attains it if he is always just, pious, and prudent. The philosopher ought to be regarded, not as a god, since he is a man, but as a divine personage. Nothing resembles God more than the man who has attained the highest degree of justice.

The just man, being loved by the gods, has only good to expect on their part. If he sometimes receives evil, it is in expiation of the faults of his preceding life. The apparent evils to which he is subject turn to his advantage during his life and after his death. The providence of the gods is necessarily attentive to the interests of him who labours to become just and to reach, by the practice of virtue, at the most perfect resemblance that man can have to the Deity.

In the order of time, after the school of Plato comes that of the philosopher of Stagira (in Macedonia).

ARISTOTLE, born in that city, 384 A.C., is for two years

the disciple of Plato, and afterwards becomes the preceptor of Alexander. In 334 he founds in the Lycæum, a promenade in Athens, a school which receives the title of Peripateticon, hence the Peripatetics, or disciples of Aristotle. His vast genius renders great service to science, and enlarges the field of philosophy. We restrict ourselves to his principal teachings on God, the World, the Soul, and the end of man. The Supreme God is an incorporeal being, changeless, and the principle of all movement ; to him belong pure and independent action and absolute felicity ; a form distinct from all others, he is raised above the sphere of the universe.

There are no tygal-ideas. Forms and ideas are inherent in matter and on the outside of what emanates from God. Thoughts, even the loftiest, are the product of experience. The world is eternal, even in its changeless form. It is spherical, and is made up of two distinct parts ; the superior world, which comprises celestial bodies, and extends to the moon, and the sublunary world or terrestrial substances with their belongings. Heaven and the heavenly bodies are composed of an ethereal substance, which differs from the four elements, and is called the fifth essence (quintessence). This portion of the world forms a divine and indestructible body ; it possesses a sensible, reasonable, and intelligent soul. The government of it belongs to Providence. All the celestial bodies are spherical, animated, and gifted with circular movement, as the heaven of which they form part. The sublunar world possesses some of these advantages ; it is exposed to suffer and to die. Terrestrial things, placed outside of the administration of divine providence, are under the empire and the direction of ethereal substances or inferior gods. The soul is the active principle of life ; it is the first energy of a body endowed with vital organs. The sensitive soul is subject to sleep like the body, and perishes with it ; but man has besides a mind or reasonable intelligence (nous), which emanates from the Supreme God. His intelligence is immortal. The human spirit perceives by intuition the pure, holy, and intelligent being. It is like the lightning for an instant, and is not seen and seized except once.

The end of man is happiness. Happiness consists in the practice of virtue, but the well-being of the body and the gifts of fortune may also contribute thereto. Vice makes man wretched, whatever property he may possess. The virtues are not connected with each other ; you may have one, and yet lack another. The sage is not exempt from passions, but he knows how to moderate them.

Peripateticism had existed for thirty years, when Athens saw two other schools open, which were to exercise great influence on morals. They had for their founders *Epicurus* and *Zeno*.

Epicurus, born in 337, taught a philosophy indulgent in regard to the pleasures of life, and disdainful of all superstition.

This philosophy acknowledged gods, eternal beings supremely happy, and, in consequence, worthy of our homage ; but their existence is very different from what men fancy. Placed in another world, they are indifferent to human things, and take no pains to punish vice or reward virtue. Their form does not differ from ours, but they remain invisible. Their substance is similar to that of the human body, without being the same. They did not create the universe, and do not direct it. " Nothing comes from nothing," says Epicurus. The universe has always been what it is, and will always remain in the same state. The universe is neither animated nor conducted by a providence ; it is corporeal, and its movements are executed according to established laws from its origin. Atoms and emptiness are the source of the world. The atoms move in the void, which is infinite like the universe. The atoms or corpuscles that cannot be divided are ungenerated, infinitely small, indivisible, innumerable, eternal. Always in movement, they fall into the void with incredible rapidity, and by a certain deviation they go to a distance, approach, intermingle to form bodies. They have varied shapes. Their infinite mass sows, in the immensity, worlds innumerable, which, like all organised beings, have their birth, their growth, their decline, their dissolution.

The soul is corporeal, and composed of the thinnest tissue

of the freest atoms. It is a kind of compound of air, breath, heat, and a nameless substance, which is the principle of sensibility. The spirit, or the reasonable part of the soul, is its most lively and energetic essence. It resides in the chest, while the unreasoning part is dispersed through all the organs. The soul animates the body without being confounded with it. The two are born and die together. At their dissolution, the soul disperses and loses its forces, its movement, its sentiment.

Pleasure is the source of the happy life. It is by pleasure or enjoyment that we discern the things which suit or not suit our nature ; those which we ought to choose or avoid. But this pleasure, whence happiness comes, does not consist in the indulgence of passion or appetite ; it is connected intimately with the absence of bodily pains, and can arise only from frugality and peace of mind.

The sage places himself above injuries by the force of reason. His passions are under control. He is full of pity and indulgence for other men. He is insensible to sexual passion, guards against excess in wine, abstains from public affairs. He amasses property without avarice, and solely to provide for future wants. Whatever care Epicurus took to define the happiness whence he makes pleasure come, his adversaries have presented it in a different sense ; his disciples themselves have deduced from his maxims consequences foreign to the master's thought.

This school was scarcely born when, in the Portico of Athens, there arose another whose rigid principles form a contrast with the Epicurean indulgence. *Zeno*, who is its head, was born in Cyprus about 340 A.C. Formed in the Socratic schools, he united several different directions, and proposed to establish a vast system of human knowledge, by basing morality on the austere principles. His school receives the name of Stoicism, or the Portico (*Stoa*). The Stoics acknowledge two eternal principles of things ; one active, the other passive : God and matter.

God is an intelligent and igneous spirit. He begets, shapes, and pervades everything. He is the universal reason which acts on matter. The primal matter is the substance

of all beings. It is corporeal, limited, passive and divisible indefinitely. As the universal substance, it neither increases nor decreases ; as the substance of particular things, it is susceptible of growth and diminution. All things are subject to destiny. Destiny is the chain of causes comprising those which depend on our will ; it is the seminal reason of things, and is confounded with intelligence and Jupiter. The universe is the arrangement of the universal substance in particular qualities, or the assemblage of the gods, men, and things created for their use. There is only one universe. Its form is spheric. On the outside it is surrounded by an infinite void ; but within all is full and united together. The ether forms the principal part of the universe. There resides every thing which partakes of the divinity. The product of an igneous intelligence, the world will perish by fire. The universal conflagration will take place at a precise point of time. All substance will be absorbed by the fire as in a germ. Then, after a certain time, a new world will be produced by the Supreme Being, who ceaselessly directs the course of things. The soul is a spirit endued with heat, whence arise respiration and movement. It is corporeal, and is born with us. At the dissolution of the body, it subsists still some time in itself ; that is, the soul of the wicked during a duration more or less long, that of the good until the universal conflagration. The honourable is the only good. Virtue is the practice of what is honourable, and reposes on free reason. Vice is a manner of acting contrary to reason. Virtue alone is good, vice alone evil. All other things whatever are indifferent in themselves ; you approve or reject them according to circumstances. Virtue is one, vice is one. You do not find in them either more or less. All good actions are equal, all bad actions are also equal. There is no medium between vice and virtue. The passions are the fruit of error. It is not enough to moderate them ; they must be extirpated root and branch. The sage is without passions, because he is exempt from vice. The Stoics combine, in their picture of their sage, all the features of moral and intellectual perfection. They present an ideal which it

would seem man cannot attain by his own forces. In their school, during the period of moral decline, strength was gained by the most devoted geniuses, the firmest characters, those who, opposed to tyranny an unsubduable force, and a courage superior to every trial. No one carried higher than they the sentiment of human dignity. They have been reproached with an inflexible haughtiness, a rigour without compassion. But this severity appears to have been softened down the later days ; it may be said that a breath from the spirit of the Gospel is felt in the *Manual* of Epictetus (*Enchiridion*) and the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius. All the branches of Greek philosophy appear, as may have been seen, to be connected more or less with the oriental doctrines. There is not, perhaps, a single one of those systems, the principles of which, or its equivalent, is not found therein. Only the Greek genius stamped its own character on what it appropriated, and what the sacerdotal castes of other nations concealed in the secrecy of the sanctuaries, it brought forward into the full light of day. But philosophical instruction never went beyond the circle of the enlightened classes. Among them the stories propagated on the gods, on their loves, their hates, and their passions of all kinds, passed for either ridiculous fables or simple allegories. It was not the same with the vulgar. In regard to them philosophy was a closed cabinet. They took those tales literally, remained a prey to innumerable superstitions, and yielded easily to the bad passions authorised by the example of the gods and goddesses to whom they offered their homage.

The bird's-eye view which we have thrown on the different religions of the ancient Polytheism suffices to make manifest their common origin and the identity of their principal doctrines. Together with uncreated matter there exists a supreme being which remains in ceaseless repose (Brahm, Ilou, Ammon, Unbounded Time). From this primal being emanate, by successive generations, the diverse intelligences which mix with matter to create, renew, and preserve the universe. In the foremost line there appear in

most of the forms of worship the three persons of a sovereign trinity ; Brahma, Vishnu, Siva in India ; Anou, Ao, Bel in Chaldæa ; Kneph, Phtah, Phre in Egypt ; God the Father, God the Son, the Soul of the World among the Platonicians.

The different religions of the east also personified the divine Word, which exists eternally with God, and by which all creation is made. The three persons of the trinity, as well as the divine Word, become incarnate a number of times, and live on the earth either in the human form or even under some animal form. Below the trinity and the word come gods and genii of different orders ; some good, who share in the government of the universe, others bad, who are in perpetual struggle with the former. The rewards and punishments of the future life, as well as the transmigration of souls are dogmas common to the different religions of antiquity, excepting Mazdaism, which did not admit the last doctrine.

In most of those religions you also find bloody sacrifices of animals, legal impurities, purifications, and expiations, the last of which are effected by means of ablutions or baptisms, prohibitions of certain kinds of food, fasts, abstinence, and macerations, confessions, mysterious rites, numerous ceremonies, set off by the splendour of external pomp.

Hellenism is the only ancient religion which does not consecrate the rule of castes. Everywhere else there is an all-powerful sacerdotal caste, which to the direction of the outer worship adds the deposit of the mysterious doctrines of religion, and the monopoly of the sciences and the intellectual arts.

It now remains to examine the worship instituted among the Hebrews.

MOSAISM.

What was the state of things pre-existent to the creation of the world ? Why did God delay to manifest himself by his works ? Moses keeps absolute silence on these questions,

and on many others for which solutions are offered in the theogonies and the cosmogonies of the ancient nations of the east.

Without explaining the nature of the supreme being, Moses names him Jehovah (the living one). He who is the Almighty, the only God, the creator of heaven and earth.

Nothing in his writings involves the idea of a trinity. Jehovah is one single being. The Spirit of God moves over the waters at the moment of creation. It is intelligence applied in the co-ordination of matter ; there you find no expansion of the Deity into diverse personifications.

God to effect creation makes use of no intermediate agent. Everything is effected by his will and by his will alone. He says, "Let there be light, and light is." In this view creation is veritably produced by his Word, as the expression of his will ; by his word in intention and not in utterance ; and Moses takes care not to personify that Word, that divine Logos. Doubtless he was acquainted with the traditions of the east as to the Word ; his austere language rejects all those imaginations, all those phantasms ; he expresses with majestic simplicity the fact that creation is the pure effect of Jehovah's Will. Genesis is also silent as to the origin of angels, their names, their functions, their hierarchy. When Moses speaks of the angels of Jehovah he seems to designate a kind of intuition or divine inspiration which is figuratively personified. His silence as to their creation leaves one to think that it took place before that of the material world.* Then they were present as spectators, if not as co-operators. Here perhaps you may find an explanation of collective forms of speech presented in the 1st Chapter of Genesis.

Nor do you find in the books of Moses any trace of the principle of evil as in conflict with the principle of good, no mention of Satan and his accomplices, of their war against God and the angels, of their fall into hell, of their jealous hatred of men. The sins of the Israelities come of the

* Or rather that in the view of the writer it did not take place at all. The silence does not implicate a pre-existence but absolute non-existence. The forms of speech referred to (Let us make man), are forms of speech and nothing more.—*Translator*.

hardness of their heart, their indocility, their evil inclinations, in them and in them alone is the cause of their disobedience, and on themselves the penalty is to fall. The prophet says nothing of the eternity of matter. He simply declares that at the moment of creation or of the organization of the universe, the earth was formless and confused, that darkness covered the face of the abyss ; but if the earth was formless and confused, the waters and the abyss covered with darkness pre-existed, nothing proves that it was from all eternity, though nothing indicates the contrary.* Creation takes place in six days (six periods in Mazdaism). The cosmogonical traditions of Genesis evidently flow from the same source as those of the Chaldeans and Persians. The first patriarchs, their wives and their servants, being natives of Chaldæa, the legends of that country are naturally perpetuated among the descendants of Jacob. Moses solely took pains to put them into harmony with the institutions which he destined for the Hebrews. But he held his peace as to the creation of the world of spirits, as to an evil principle in struggle with God and his creatures, as to the immortality of the soul, as to the resurrection of the body, as to rewards and punishments in the life to come. The good things and the bad things of this world are alone set forth as the recompence and the chastisement of those who keep or who break the law of God.

In quitting Egypt, Moses led a confused multitude, among whom were doubtless large numbers of men imbued with Egyptian superstitions. After the promulgation of the law, forty years are passed in the desert, far from contact with other peoples. A new generation brought up in the new religion was to enter the land of Canaan. For fear the Israelities might allow themselves to be seduced by foreign

* I can hardly assent to this. The contrary seems implied in what stands before. The first verse seems to describe a general act of creation, particulars of which ensue. That general act was the creation of the heaven and the earth, that is the universe. Matter then is a creature of God, and on that creature primarily in a formless and disorderly condition God acts by a succession of utterances of his will, until all things are brought into the order in which we now see them, or rather in which they were seen by the eye of the reporter.—*Translator.*

customs, he ordered them to exterminate all the populations of the land they were about to conquer.

Let us give an outline of that legislation on which rest the religions of a great part of the modern world, and from which the Jewish people received a cohesive force which has outlived all vicissitudes. The Hebrews were all children of the same race, brothers in a certain way. Their laws have equality for their basis. Solely the tribe of Levi holds an exceptional position. The law proceeds directly from God or by the mouth of his prophets. The fundamental law was given by Jehovah himself in ten commandments. This is the covenant of alliance between God and his people, whence come the ordinances of Moses. The first thing done is to erect the tabernacle or tent of Jehovah, which contains all the objects consecrated to worship. After the conquest of the Holy Land a temple will be constructed in a city chosen for the purpose. There will be only one temple in Israel, because there is only one sole God and one sole people. In place of the firstborn whom the Lord had reserved to himself in Egypt, the tribe of Levi is offered to him by the people to serve in the ceremonies of worship. The functions of high priest are allotted to Aaron and his descendants. They alone enter the tent of covenant or alliance. They offer all the sacrifices and bless the people in the name of Jehovah. The other Levites, ready to execute their orders, assist them. Sacerdotal functions are inhibited to those who have any stain or infirmity on their body. The High Priests are to preserve themselves holy, shaving neither the hair of their head nor that of their beard, nor making incisions on their body. They are not allowed to marry a wife repudiated or infamous. The High Priest chooses for himself, among the daughters of Israel, a virgin who is not of the common people. The priests and Levites are not comprised in the division of the land; Jehovah is their heritage. Only on the territory of the other tribes eighty cities with their suburbs are allotted to them. Everything which the children of Israel consecrate to Jehovah belongs to them; under this head, they take a part of the victims, as well as first-fruits, the tithes, and

other offerings. The ordinary priests wear in the exercise of their functions, drawers of linen and a coat of the same material which extends down to their heels ; this coat is fastened on round the waist with a girdle tied in front and falling to the feet. Their head is covered with a kind of mitre or tiara made of linen and very thick.

The High Priest wears over the linen coat another and shorter, hyacinthe in colour, all of one piece and without seam. The latter is covered by a third garment called Ephod, an ell in length, on the forepart of which appears the breastplate whereon are the words, *Doctrine and Truth*.

During the time of their service the priests are separated from their wives and drink neither wine nor spirits. They lay aside their sacred attire after the ceremonies. No civil function is interdicted to them. They bear arms with the other children of Israel, and sound the trumpet in the army, as well as for the exercise of the divine worship. Like most ancient nations the Jews immolate victims. They have several kinds of sacrifices. In these the victim is entirely consumed in the fire ; this is called a holocaust, that is a victim wholly burnt. In those they burn on the altars only the fat and certain parts of the body ; what remains is eaten by the offerers, less the portion reserved for the priest. They choose for victims oxen, sheep, goats, turtle doves, and young pigeons. Some sacrifices have for their object the expiation of sins and misdeeds ; in others the peace offering is presented as a token of gratitude or to fulfil some vow. For an oblation of meal or bread they take either pure flour of meal on which they spread oil or unleavened loaves, the meal of which is mingled with oil, or small cakes without leaven and sprinkled on the top with oil. Neither leaven nor honey is burnt on the altar. But the covenant salt seasons whatever is offered in sacrifice. Every day a perpetual holocaust is offered, two lambs of a year old, without spot, one in the morning, the other at night. The fire always burns upon the altar. The religious festivals are consecrated to joy and accompanied by glad festivities. Every year there are three great festivals : passover, pentecost, and the feast of tents or tabernacles.

The passover is celebrated in memory of the exit from Egypt, on the fourteenth of the moon of the first Hebrew month, that is March. The victim, a spotless lamb, is immolated at sunset, in the place chosen by the Lord for his abode, and nowhere else. Next day begins the feast of unleavened bread, which lasts seven days, during which only loaves without leaven are eaten. The second day they offer as first-fruits a handful of ears of barley ; the seventh is the most holy.

The festival of seven weeks, or Pentecost, falls on the fiftieth day after that on which the barley offering is made. Loaves made from the first-fruits of the harvest are offered. The Feast of Tabernacles, after the gathering in of the fruits of the year, opens on the fifteenth of the seventh month. The Israelites remain seven days under tents made of the branches of trees, in memory of their having lived under tents after the exit from Egypt. The high priest, during this festival, reads the law to the assembled people. All males are to appear before Jehovah on these three solemn festivals, in the place of their abode, with offerings proportioned to their means. The law enjoins the observance of the Sabbath ; on that day they light no fire in their houses ; labour is forbidden on pain of death. The first day of each month victims are offered in holocausts. The feast of trumpets comes the first day of the seventh month. Victims are immolated in holocausts, independently of those which are due for the daily sacrifice, and for the first day of the month. The feast of the expiation of sins, the only one in which they afflict their souls, is indicated on the sixth day of the same month. The high priest then expiates the sanctuary, the tabernacle, the altar, as well as the Levites and the entire people. Each seventh year the Sabbath of the land comes round. Then they cultivate neither the fields, nor the vines, nor olive plants. Whatever grew up spontaneously served to feed men, beasts of burden, and flocks, the surplus fell to the share of wild beasts. This seventh year they could not claim what was due to them by a friend, a fellow-citizen, a near relative ; it was not the same in regard to the foreigner.

The jubilee is proclaimed every fiftieth year. The fields, the vines, the trees remain uncultivated. General liberty is proclaimed for all the inhabitants. Sales lose their effect ; each goes back to the possession of his paternal property. Every Israelite slave returns to his family. Births, marriages, and deaths take place without the intervention of the priests and the Levites. They inter the corpses of common people ; the bodies of considerable personages are embalmed and deposited in a sepulchre. Whoever takes part in funerals becomes impure ; the priests cannot be present unless in case of their relatives. Like divers oriental worships, the law of Moses forbids the use of certain kinds of food. Its followers are not allowed to eat the fat or the blood of any animal or any thing accounted impure. Some animals are pure, others impure. The distinction arises from considerations of health to which a religious sanction is added. There exist for persons as for things cases of impurity from which relief is given by certain ceremonies. For instance, a woman who has brought forth a child remains impure for seven days. On the eighth the babe is circumcised, and the mother remains thirty-three days before she becomes pure. In the case of the birth of a girl, the impurity of the mother lasts twice the time.

Every impure person must be purified before he appears in the assembly of the people, or before the tabernacle of the Lord. It is in consequence of the laws touching impurity, and the selection of meats, that the Israelites are interdicted to eat with foreigners, or to enter their houses. Every person who voluntarily contracts an impurity, or commits an infraction of the law, is subject to a religious expiation, independently of the judicial penalties which he may have incurred. The first-born of men and of domestic animals, the first fruits and the tenths of the fruit of the earth are consecrated to Jehovah, as also the tenth of every animal born of oxen, sheep, goats, and all that passes under the pastor's crook.

Every third year they reserve for the Levite, the foreigner, the widow, and the orphan another tenth of all goods acquired in the period. Sometimes they sacrifice to Jehovah either their own person, or one of their animals, or their

house, or their field. Those vows may be redeemed at a price fixed by the law or by the priest. Those who have made a vow to sanctify themselves, and to consecrate themselves to Jehovah, abstain from wine and all intoxicating drink. The Nazarite is holy, and does not shave his head during all the time of his sunderance. When the period is over, he presents the victims and offerings prescribed by the law ; the hair of his head, which is shaved off before the door of the tabernacle, is consumed in the sacrificial fire.

Jehovah alone is to be worshipped. It is an abomination to introduce any image into the temple. The penalty of death awaits those who give themselves up to idolatry and to foreign superstitions, who have recourse to diviners or magicians, who blaspheme the name of God, who work on the Sabbath day, or on other religious festivals. The law authorises polygamy and divorce. Even concubinage is recognised as a kind of less solemn matrimony ; ordinarily the concubines are slaves. The Israelite who learns to dislike his wife may dismiss her without any other reason by giving her a document of divorce. Perpetual virginity is not considered a state of sanctification. The sterility of married women is an opprobrium, and a curse from God.

Slavery is authorised by law. For the slave of foreign blood the slavery is perpetual. But the Israelite slave who is to be considered as a mercenary, becomes free in the sabbatical year, or that of the jubilee. A foreigner who settles among the sons of Israel is to be treated as a brother. The law does not confound him with the old inhabitants of the Holy Land, the Hittites, the Ammonites, the Canaanites, the Pherizites, the Hivites, the Jebusites, the Gergasites, whose extermination was ordered by Moses. The sacred books have a great number of precepts in favour of brotherly love, intended for the Israelites one with another. Seventy elders of the people, together with the prophet and the high priest, form the supreme council of Israel. In all the tribes, magistrates are placed at the gates of the city to judge the people righteously. The laws, emanating from God, are to remain in force for ever. They can be modified only by the divine inspiration of the prophets. Those

prophets or seers are sent to instruct the people, and to announce to them the will of Jehovah; they are the messengers and servants of the Lord, the divine words of God. They interpret the law according to its spirit, while the priests attach themselves to the letter. They arise in all the tribes, and all the families. Their ministry has nothing in common with the priesthood. As prophets, they exercise no public function, but their word overrules the different powers of the state. In the view of the law, the head of the nation should be a prophet. Moses is regarded as the greatest of the prophets. In truth, this is the sole mode of government that was instituted by the Hebrew legislator:—"Jehovah, thy God," says he, "will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, from my brethren, like unto me: unto him ye shall hearken" (Deut. xviii. 14). However, in the foresight of the establishment of regal power, rules are laid down for that order of things.

The regulations of Moses reproduced, as the student will have seen, different customs and ceremonies in use among the Egyptians and other peoples of the ancient world. The Hebrews may have received some of them by tradition from their patriarchs. In the number of things common with Egypt, we mention bloody sacrifices, the linen garments of the priests, oblations, ablutions, purifications, circumcision, festivals, tithes, prohibitions of swine's flesh, and of different other animals. But it is in opposition to the Egyptian customs that the law orders the sacrifice of the he-goat and the ox, employment of salt in sacrifices, the immolation of the ram and the lamb, to burn a red heifer in order to gather its ashes; that it forbids the priests to shave and to cut their hair round; that it forbids wearing certain vestments, to raise an altar in carved and polished stones, and to ascend it by steps, to use leaven and honey in sacrifices, to have sacred woods near the altar of Jehovah. The laws of Moses never ceased to be the foundation of the beliefs of Israel. Endeavours were made to carry back as to their source, systems and opinions of foreign origin which prevailed among the Jews.

During the epoch of the Judges (1451 to 1095 B.C.),

there is no permanent chief in the nation. The priests make their way more and more into the public administration, and tend ceaselessly to absorb it. But in critical times everything is effaced before the power of the judge who arises out of the midst of Israel.

The Hebrews did not entirely exterminate the nations of Canaan. There always remained among them fractions more or less considerable, whose presence is a source of continual temptations.

Under the Judges the tabernacle was fixed at Shilo, on the confines of the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin.

David transported the sacred ark into the fortress of Zion ; but the construction of the Temple was reserved for Solomon, his son. The father prepares for it by introducing divers regulations into the priestly cast. He collected the members of that body at Jerusalem. There were thirty-eight thousand above thirty years of age. Twenty-four thousand are chosen for the different offices of the house of Jehovah ; four thousand to guard the doors of the Temple, and four thousand to sing the praises of Jehovah ; there remain six thousand to exercise the function of chiefs and judges.

David regulates the order and the office of the priests, the order of singers and musicians, the order of the porters of the temple. Other Levites were to instruct the people, and to hear and determine differences ; they may even command bodies of troops. Thus the Levites became auxiliaries of the royal power. The greater number of them reside in the Holy City with the priests chiefs of the tribes ; those which are spread abroad in other districts receive their instructions from Jerusalem. The tribe of Levi forms a veritable aristocracy, under the authority of the High Priest. When there are no more kings it finds itself at the head of the nation ; the High Priest is then the true prince of the people. It does not appear that the doctrines of Moses received sensible modification down to the reigns of David and Solomon. If some Pagan beliefs insinuated themselves into the minds of the crowd, the priesthood and the prophets always withstood them. In the Psalms, in

Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, there is nothing taught as to angels, the human soul, the future life ; nothing on the trinity, on the personification of the attributes of God, of his spirit, of his word, or on the two principles of good and evil. The only thing to notice is the manner in which the Proverbs speak of the wisdom of God. The forms of language made use of serve at a later time for a basis and a means of transition for the incarnation of the word assimilated to the wisdom of God. The author was doubtless acquainted with the oriental doctrines touching the word, but he reduces them to what they were in the thoughts of the sages, that is, to pure abstractions, to simple figures of speech. No son of Jacob makes a mistake on this point ; no passage of the posterior prophets tends to vivify these allegories, to sunder and decompose the divine unity. Among the prophets sent to the kings of Israel the most celebrated is Elijah, who is reported to have been carried up into heaven in a chariot of fire. The prophecies announced that he would return full of life before the great day of Jehovah, to bring into unison the hearts of fathers and children, and to re-establish the tribes of Jacob (Mal. iv. 5, 6). David and his son subjected the nations mixed with the Israelites in the land of Canaan, and extended their power over the provinces of Syria as far as the Euphrates, as well as Idumæa and other lands in the south of Palestine. But after the separation of the ten tribes, the Syrians recovered their independence.

About the year 732 A.C. the Assyrians invaded the greater part of the territory of the ten tribes, and transferred to their own lands the most notable of the inhabitants ; there remains to the king of Israel only the province of Ephraim and some districts on the east of the Jordan ; this little kingdom is in its turn occupied, and Samaria its capital carried by assault in the year 721 A.C. The principal inhabitants, among others the rich and the warriors, are carried away captive into Assyria ; the conqueror establishes in their place several colonies of Cuthæans and other foreigners, with whom mingle the Israelites not affected by the deportation. The worship of the God of Israel is

maintained among these people ; they form the new state of Samaria ; which will be afterwards in perpetual hostility with the Jews. In the year 700 the Assyrians ravage Judæa, carry off 200,000 captives, and compel Hezekiah to pay them tribute. Shortly after they make a fresh attempt against Jerusalem ; but the plague which breaks out in their army compels them to raise the siege and go back home. The Holy City is finally taken by the Chaldæans in the year 599. Nebuchadnezzar lays his hands on the treasures of the temple, and carries off to Babylon the principal inhabitants and the most valiant men of war to the number of 10,000, with the smiths and the armourers ; leaving in the city only the poorer of the people. A revolt of the Jews again attracts the Chaldæans nine years later ; they seize Jerusalem (588 A.C.), the temple of the Lord, the king's palace, and the principal edifices are reduced to ashes ; the enemy beats down the city walls, and carries away to Babylon the rest of the people, excepting the indigent, who remain to cultivate the fields and the vines. A final deportation of the superior inhabitants takes place as a consequence of the murder of Gedaliah the foreign governor (Jer. xli. 2).

From that time until the reign of Cyrus (599-538 A.C.) Judæa was subjected to Chaldæan authority. The most distinguished Hebrew prophet Isaiah began to raise his voice at the time of the decline of the Assyrian invasion. His ministry extended over many years. Uttered in the midst of the misfortunes of Israel, his prophecies are full of warning and desolation, yet bright with hope of future good. His inspirations, as well as those of Jeremiah and the other prophets anterior to the captivity of Judah, are confined within the circle of Mosaic beliefs.

It is in the book of Job that for the first time we find ideas unknown to the ancient Israelites and which circulated on the borders of the Persian gulf when that work came into existence. Its doctrines disclose a Chaldæan or Mazdean origin. Satan, or the principle of evil, appears in that book in the presence of God, who permits him to tempt Job his servant. It is said in that book as to the resurrection

and the future life, that man will not rise until the heavens are consumed and destroyed ; that in that last day he will arise in the flesh and in his skin ; and that light is the portion of him who loves the Almighty. The influence of Chaldæa makes itself not less felt in the prophets which come forward during or after the captivity. Ezekiel knew the book of Job. His visions offer pictures which are not without resemblance to those of the religion of Babylon. Nevertheless he does not announce any thing in God, spirits, the human soul, which is in disagreement with Moses. The book of Daniel is more imprinted with oriental ideas. It represents the ancient of days (the eternal one) as seated on a throne of burning flames, and its wheels as burning fire, his hair is white, his vestment white as snow ; a stream of fire issues before his face, thousands of angels minister to him, and ten thousands stand before him. The saints of the most High, under the son of man, shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever (Dan. vii.). Daniel announces the resurrection of the dead and the everlasting life, in these words : " And at that time shall Michael, the great prince, stand up, and every one of God's people found written in the book shall be delivered, and all they that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt ; and they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever (Dan. xii. 1-3). It may, however, be asked whether in these expressions Daniel does not speak figuratively, like the other prophets, intending the revival of the downfallen people of Israel and their re-settlement in the Holy Land.

After the return from Babylon a sensible change takes place in the political condition of Israel, and in its religious beliefs. The captivity had for its first effect the reuniting of all Israel in one sole national body. When Judah and Benjamin were side by side with their brethren of the ten tribes their disagreements vanished under the influence of their common misfortune. There remained only one community of the sons of Jacob. The edicts of Cyrus and his

successors applied to them all. But the ten tribes that had been captives for two centuries, had less fully preserved the spirit of return to God than those of Judah and Benjamin. In the latter, even the majority, and specially the rich, prefer not to quit Chaldea, and the oriental provinces. Judea sees only the lowest and the poorest of its children return at first, to whom is added a certain number of Israelites of the other tribes. This new people extends over all the land of Canaan except Samaria. Henceforth the name of Jew (Judah) applies to Israelites in general, even to those who remain beyond the Euphrates. The prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi belong to the period of the reconstruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. The Jews, exposed to the jealous hatred of the neighbouring populations, ceaselessly vibrate between fear and hope ; the prophets, reanimating their courage, announce to them the reestablishment of the temple, of the holy city, of the kingdom of David, which will subsist in a glorious peace under a king of his race, while extending itself from sea to sea and from the Euphrates to the extremities of the Land of Israel (Zech. ix. 10). This is the king that the Jews afterwards always expected. Herod and the Hasmonians did indeed reign over the greater part of these countries ; but the one was an Idumæan, and the others did not descend from David. Israel never ceases to hope for this king, son of David, this "the desire of nations" (Hag. ii. 7), the expectation is more lively still when the people groan under the yoke of a foreign domination.

During the empire of the Persians Judea seems from the time of Nehemiah to be administered by itself under the direction of its theocratic aristocracy. The principal authority lies in the hands of the high priests, who are subordinate to the Satraps of Syria. Nothing troubles the tranquillity of the country during all that period (526-332 a.c.) the population increases prodigiously.

It is the same with the Israelites of Babylonia ; they surpass in number the Jews of Palestine, even in the time when the latter region is most populous. At the time of Alexander the Great (332) a number of Jews take part in

the Egyptian war, and that prince, in acknowledgment of their services, allows them to settle in Alexandria, where they have the same civic rights as the Greeks. After the death of the Conqueror, the Kings of Egypt and of Syria frequently dispute with each other for the possession of Judea ; different privileges are granted to the Jews in the cities of the one and the other kingdom : Ptolemy Soter carries a great number of Jews into Egypt ; others repair thither of their own accord, attracted by the fertility of the soil, and by the goodwill of the king. Numerous swarms of their nation spread into Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus. In the time of Philo (born 30 A.C.) the Jews occupy two of the five quarters of the city of Alexandria, and not less than a million cover the soil of Egypt.

Equally do the Kings of Syria seek to conciliate them by favours. Antiochus the Great establishes colonies of Jews in Phrygia and in Lydia to keep those provinces in order ; they are numerous in Syria, especially at Antioch, capital of the kingdom.

Under the Greek kings of Syria, the Holy Land continues to govern itself, as in the times of the Persians. The high priest, appointed by the king, exercises authority with the supreme council of the elders. At a later day, the power of the Jews calling forth fears, the Kings of Syria attempt to abolish their worship, and to subject them to the common law of their kingdom (168 A.C.). But the Jews find themselves able to resist in long and sanguinary wars, the result of which is the re-establishment of a new royalty in the family of the Hasmoneans (104). During these wars, Onias, son of the high priest, flees into Egypt, and constructs a temple at Leontopolis, resembling that of Jerusalem ; priests are established in it, and divine service is celebrated according to the law of Moses. There arises between the Jews of Egypt and those of Palestine a kind of schism which prolongs itself until the closing of the temple of Onias under the Emperor Vespasian (died A.D. 79). The Romans, masters of the East, soon succeed in possessing themselves of the Temple of Jerusalem, and rendering Judea tributary (63). At first they leave it under the government of its

kings ; then they divide it into several principalities, which they eventually subject to their own sway. Under the Roman domination, the Jews emigrate into all the provinces of the empire ; in the time of Augustus, there are large numbers in different parts of Italy, and in Rome itself. In most of the countries, where they are scattered among the native populations, the Israelites have at their head a kind of national governor, who directs all that concerns their law. The one in Babylonia is called "the prince of the captivity," and it is asserted that he has always been taken from the descendants of David. At Alexandria the chief of the Jews is called Alabarch, at Antioch Ethnarch. In nearly all other countries they have a patriarch whose power is the same. Judea and Jerusalem are the common centre, and the bond of all the scattered populations. It is thus that they retain a kind of national character. We have said that from the time of the return from Babylon notable changes took place in the beliefs of the Israelites. Religious and philosophic dogmas were borrowed by them from the peoples among whom they sojourned, whether in captivity or in voluntary dispersion. The religion of Zoroaster is that which appears to have exercised the greatest influence on the Jews. More than one affinity makes Genesis resemble the Zend Avesta ; Ormuzd is distinct from matter like Jehovah ; the creation of the world in six days or epochs, the earthly paradise, the tree of life, the seduction of man and woman by the serpent, the holy mount, baptism in sacred water, the horror of idols, are found in both. Did Zoroaster borrow from the writings of Moses as some have held, or rather did not both nations draw from the same well ? It is, however, a fact that independently of these common traditions, there are in the Zend Avesta other ideas which are not found in the Biblical books, which began to be current among the Jews after their return from Babylon, for instance, the existence of two principles, one good, the other bad, the kingdom of light in opposition to the kingdom of darkness, a more precise conception of angels, their struggles against the spirits of evil, the immortality of the human soul, the

resurrection of the body, the rewards and the punishments of the future life. During the captivity the Jews had meetings for prayer, fasting, the reading of the sacred books, prophetic inspiration, singing of hymns ; as also they kept schools where the precepts of the purest wisdom were taught. These pious assemblies, known under the name of synagogues (in the Greek tongue) continue to exist after the return from captivity, and are established in all parts where the Jews settle. They exist in the several cities of Judea. Their influence maintains the activity of the religious spirit ; public schools open equally in countries inhabited by the Jews. Thence proceeded all the sects which appeared among them, whether in Palestine or out of it. The canon of their sacred books closes about the time of Esdras. After Malachi, a contemporary of the reconstruction of the temple, the line of prophets comes to an end—until it is revived by Jesus. In the writings posterior to the captivity we recognise the trace of oriental ideas. An assimilation to them appears especially in *The Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, works regarded as sources of divine knowledge, though they did not form part of the canon of the Jews. A certain resemblance in doctrine and forms of utterance to those of the *Proverbs* caused these two works to be ascribed to Solomon, but they appear to be much more recent. *Ecclesiasticus* belongs to the middle of the third century A.C., that is, to the first years after the death of Simon the Just (292) a time when are placed the close of scripture and the opening of tradition. The date of the book of Wisdom is uncertain. The Jew Philo passes for its author or the translator of it into the Greek tongue. These works are more impregnated with the oriental spirit than the *Proverbs* of Solomon. Several of their passages bearing on the devil and his angels, the human soul, the future life, the everlasting kingdom of the just, though you may interpret them according to the Biblical letter, do not the less disclose an active elaboration to mingle eastern ideas with the doctrines of the Hebrew legislator. This process of fusion continues in the Jewish schools ; but as it becomes more difficult in the degree in which the orientalism abounds, there arises a

supposition that with the written law Moses received on Mount Sinai, solely by word of mouth, another, the law of tradition, which came down from generation to generation. This law, which is called oral, in opposition to the Scripture, has with the Jews an authority not less than the other. Some go so far as to prefer the oral. Its glosses, and its comments, according to them, explain what is obscure and defective in the written law. Scripture is with them a dead letter, the soul of which is found in tradition. Thus they destroy the one by the other, and in the final issue reduce religion to tradition alone, which prevails over the law and the prophets (Matt. xv. 3, 6 ; Mark. vii. 8, 13). By means of this tradition, which has no support, and which is constantly coloured and altered by the current of popular ideas, the appearance of prophets is nullified, for the priesthood has resources to silence them or to fill their places. The sole depository of tradition, it has the power to reject or to consecrate novelties as it judges desirable. But when the beliefs seem of a nature to be admitted they take pains to connect them with the Biblical writings by the aid of interpretations or reconciliations more or less skilfully conceived.

After the death of Simon the just, certain doctors study the traditions which are supposed to have been approved by Ezdras and the great synagogue ; and they add to them amplifications which form a part of their substance. These traditions, under which the Word of God is already stifled by the anticipations of the Messiah, were put in writing about the middle of the second century after the dispersion of the Jews. It is from this collection, augmented by commentaries, that the two Talmuds, one of Jerusalem, the other of Babylon, are composed. All the body of the traditional doctrine is comprised therein.

But these new doctrines do not succeed in gaining prevalence without opposition. Two parties are formed of which one holds to the written law, while the other admits tradition, adding to it divers rigid and minute observances. To the first of these parties the Samaritans and the Sadducees

attach themselves, with the second the Pharisees and the Essenians are connected.

The people of Samaria were composed, as has been seen, of Israelities of the ten tribes escaped from the deportation and foreigners placed among them by the old conquerors. Although the Samaritans followed the law of Moses, the Jews affected to regard them not as a religious sect of Israel, but as foreign schismatics. After the return from captivity Samaria set itself in opposition to the reconstruction of the temple of Jerusalem ; not being able to succeed in that design, it had offered to contribute to the expense, saying, that it worshipped the same God and had the same religion as the Jews. But the latter refused their co-operation under the pretext that the kings of Persia had given permission to build the temple solely to them. The Samaritans afterwards obtained from Alexander the Great leave to build on Mount Gerizim ; every thing in it was an imitation of that in Jerusalem. The institutions and beliefs of the Samaritans accord with those of the Jews. As the Jews they worship the God of Israel, expect the Messiah, observe the Sabbath and the other festivals, practise circumcision, avoid uncleanness, and follow the law of Moses in every point ; but they differ from the Jews in rejecting the prophets posterior to the separation of the tribes, the historical writings and the canon of Ezra, as well as the oral law and the traditions introduced by the scribes and Pharisees. A deeply seated hatred separates the two nations. The Jews, in order to insult them, denominate the inhabitants of Samaria by the name of Cutheans.

The Sadducees, adversaries of the oral law in Judea, are less a new sect than zealous partisans of the law of Moses, who reject all kinds of tradition. They maintain that we are the masters of our acts and the sole authors of the good and evil that fall to our lot, according as we follow a wise or a foolish plan. They deny the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the rewards and punishments of another life, all things that they do not find written in the books of Moses. Their disposition is rude and boorish ; the people show little affection for them. They are small

in number, but all persons of high condition, and by that fact exercising a great influence. The Pharisees, who rule in the schools of Palestine, are the most fervent followers of the oral law and the traditions. They acknowledge the power of destiny, but without absolutely denying the forces of free will. They believe in the immortality of the soul and in the future life. According to them the souls of just men may live again in this world, while those of the wicked undergo confinement under the earth. They people space with angels and spirits, set over not only human destiny, but also the life of animals and plants, the course of the stars and a multitude of diverse functions; they are accounted better informed than others in the laws and the ceremonies of religion, and seek all that tends to the external pomp, to the ostentation of a seeming piety. Under the eyes of the multitude they utter their prayers and give their alms, affect a particular method in their attire, practise celibacy, a weekly fast, frequent ablutions, wear talismans and amulettes; but they neglect justice, mercy, faith, for a crowd of superstitious mummeries and human ordinances which they impose on the people in order to keep them in their power, every superstition being a bond of servitude. Able and enterprising they mix themselves with everything—in the government of the state as well as in the direction of private affairs. They were seen to rise against the Hasmonean kings, and under the Roman dominion seven thousand of them refused the oath of fidelity to Herod and the emperor. The sect of the Essenians also admits the immortality of the soul, and the penalties and remunerations of another life, but they hold that all things are fixed and directed by divine providence. Differing from the two other Jewish parties, the Essenians do not take part in the administration of public affairs; they form a sort of association, their number surpasses four thousand. Their rule prescribes a community of goods and life in common. They inhabit a kind of convents on the oriental side of the Dead Sea, observe celibacy, labour with their hands, are self-denying in food and dress. They have no servants amongst them; they provide for their own

wants, considering themselves as equals and brothers ; they offer no victims to God, but a pure and holy life. Rigid observers of the Sabbath they consecrate it to acts of piety and religious instruction. Their life is passed in study and the practice of virtue. They are fond of solitude and silence, carefully avoiding the spirit of dispute and contest. Their persistence overcomes all difficulties.

Another kind of Essenians differs from the former in permitting marriage, of which they make use however with great continence and only in order to procreate offspring. Independently of those of Judea there exists among the Jews in foreign lands, and specially in Egypt, other parties and schools, born in contact with foreign religions and philosophies. Among them the establishments of the Therapeutæ and the school of Jewish Hellenists of Alexandria are distinguished. The Therapeutæ, according to Philo, form a sort of religious institute, like the Essenians, but, differing from them whose life is active and occupied, they give themselves up wholly to contemplation, to prayer, to the study of the sacred Scriptures. They exist in different countries ; they are found in several provinces of Egypt and specially in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The Therapeutæ abandon their goods to their family or their friends, and retire into seclusion. Their houses, of little value, merely shelter them against the heat and the cold ; they are sufficiently remote the one from the other as to remain in solitude, but not enough to deprive them of mutual aid. Each has his cell, where he gives himself up to meditation, to reading, to pious exercises. They address God in prayer morning and evening, and consecrate the rest of the day to the study of divine things. Their efforts tend to discover allegories in the sacred books, considering their text as a body of which the mystical sense is the soul. They also compose in grave rhythms, songs, or hymns to the praise of Jehovah. With them temperance is the principal foundation of virtue ; they neither eat nor drink till after sunset. Some remain at times several days without nutriment. Bread is their sole aliment. The more delicate add salt and hyssop. They drink the water of the rivers.

Their garments are very simple—in winter a thick mantle, in summer a linen robe. They pass six entire days without quitting their cells, nay, without looking on the outside. The seventh they meet together to hear pious instructions. Women, virgins, and for the most part aged women are admitted into the assembly, but separated from the men by a partition. They unite at Pentecost to eat in common, and take rank according to their age, the men on the right side the women on the left. Service at table belongs to the wisest and best. The meal, consisting of their habitual aliments, is taken in absolute silence. Questions and difficulties connected with the sacred scriptures are proposed. In the allegorical explanations that are given they throw into light the sense hidden under the letter. The rest of the night is passed in religious songs and in sacred dances. At the dawn of day each returns into his cell to resume his ordinary life.

It is to be observed that the sects (or parties) of the Pharisees, Essenians, and Therapeutae did not make their appearance till the third century before the Christian era, when, under Alexander the Great and his successors, the Jews were spread in great number in Babylonia, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and the islands of the Mediterranean Sea. It is not known that up till then there existed in these regions ascetic institutes, in which the Essenians and the Therapeutae might have modelled themselves. But that date refers to a time when in consequence of their relations with the Greek royalties, the monks of Buddha, spreading westerly from India, carried their doctrines and their institutions to the borders of the Euphrates and the Nile, and scattered in those countries, even among the Jews, germs of a spirit of asceticism whence sprang those two sects or religious communities, which had no predecessors, and which have not had any continuators in the bosom of the children of Israel. Alexandria in Egypt, a Greek city inhabited by a number of Jews, Egyptians, and Orientals, had under the Ptolemies, become the great centre of Hellenic civilisation, and its situation made it the point of meeting for that civilisation with the religious doctrines of Judea, Egypt, and all the East.

There it was that the beliefs of so many different peoples were to be compared together, and to assimilate or exclude each other. The Platonic philosophy, which numerous affinities connected with the theosophies of the Egyptians and the Orientals, predominated among the Greeks of Alexandria, and formed a constant object of study for elevated minds. The school of the Jews of the same city, applied itself with a view to proselytism, to bring the books of Moses and the doctrines of Plato into concord, the former being the oracle of the Hebrews, the latter the oracle of the Greeks. That school in imitation of the Essenians and the Therapeutae sought for mystic senses in Scripture and allegorised the passages, the literal signification of which was open to the criticisms and the raileries of the foreign philosophers. From the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246) the version of the seventy (the Septuagint) had put the sacred books of the Jews within the reach of all those who spoke the Greek tongue. Shortly after, the book of *Ecclesiasticus* was translated by a Jew of Alexandria ; and at a later day there appeared the version of the book of *Wisdom*. These two works joined to the *Proverbs* opened an easy way for the theory of the *Word*, taught by Plato's school and the religions of the east : but in that theory the Jewish doctors never saw anything but what was really an allegory, a metaphysical abstraction. Philo is the most illustrious representative of the school of Alexandrine Jews, he whose writings had the greatest influence in the theosophical movement of that period. He was born twenty-five or thirty years before the Christian era, of a family which held a distinguished rank in Alexandria. Imbued with Platonic ideas, and versed in the knowledge of the Oriental dogmas, he mixes them in a certain measure with the doctrines of the Mosaic religion which he presents to foreigners as quite perfect and emanating from God himself. He wishes thus to render it less inaccessible to the Gentiles, and to prepare a sort of fusion of its beliefs with the philosophy of Plato and the systems of the east. This disposition of mind seems to have been general at that time in the schools of the Jewish Hellenists. The works of Philo offer the most complete

monument of this ; in many points they have so much conformity with the writings of Plato, that it was commonly said either Philo Platonises or Plato Philonises.

Let us sketch some features of the theosophic system of the Alexandrine Jew. God is unique, infinite, changeless, incomprehensible ; no limits to his power, his wisdom, his goodness ; all perfection, all felicity are in him ; from him emanates all virtue. In his thought reside the typical ideas of all possible things, the ideal world. For him there is neither past nor future, all is present in one single intuition. He fills the universe and contains it without being contained by it. He is the primal light, the first cause, the father and the creator of all things, the soul of the world.

From all eternity God engendered the Logos or word (the wisdom of the sacred books). The Logos, this firstborn of God, is his ideal image, the shadow of his light. He is the ideal world itself, the type of the sensible world. He is called the oldest of the angels, or the archangel, the principal name and word of God, the specimen man, the seer of Israel. God works by thought as well as speech, that is, by the internal Logos, or the uttered Logos (Logos endi, athetos, Logos prophetikos). By the Logos he formed the universe ; by the Logos he preserves and governs it. In the one God there are two supreme faculties—his goodness and his power ; the one created the world, and the other governs it. There is also the Logos (word) which partakes of those two faculties ; it is by the Logos that God is good and powerful. To the illumined soul, there comes a vision of three in one. The centre is God, *He who is* ; at his sides, like two shadows projected from him, are his faculties of goodness and power. The Eternal One, between his faculties of goodness and power, appears to the human mind now as one, now as triple ; as one, when the entirely purified soul can raise itself to the simple and perfect idea of unity ; as triple, when, not having reached to the last initiation, the soul cannot apprehend God by himself, but solely by his acts of Creator and Master. First, God made in his thought an incorporeal and ideal world, which is the type of that which we see.

The heaven and the air are peopled by innumerable spirits, unequal in power and of different ranks. The most distinguished dwell in the highest heavens. The stars, animated beings, figure among those celestial intelligences. Of spirits spread abroad in the air, some are destined to descend into mortal bodies, from which they are set free after a certain period of time; the others, of a diviner nature, mix with nothing terrestrial. Moses designates by the name angels, the spirits which do not sojourn in human bodies. The angels, pure and blessed in the beginning, took part in the creation of the world, and they employ themselves in promoting the conservation of creatures. God, though he has no need of aid to act and to create, nevertheless reserved some works for secondary powers. God is the author of good, and not of evil. As he is thoroughly good, he could form only essences corresponding to his nature, that is thoroughly good. The imperfections which exist in certain beings proceed from inferior intelligences which took part in their creation. The angels go forth to announce to creatures the good that God desires to do them, and they report to him the expression of the desires and the wants of the latter.

The divine instinct which is in us, is the angel which directs our steps, and removes from our path what might injure us. Matter pre-existed, having in itself nothing good—without order, without soul, full of discord and confusion, but it was susceptible of being modified and changed into good, to receive qualities which it lacked.

God created the world with matter, without having need of organs or instruments, without moulding it in any way, but by the virtue of the Logos or divine word, and by using incorporeal powers or ideas to form each kind.

God encloses the universe in his bosom, and infiltrates himself into each of its parts. He united all things by invisible and indissoluble bonds, which are his divine faculties. This sensible world is God's second son, the ideal world, which resides in his thought, is his first-born. There are two men, the one celestial, the other terrestrial. The celestial or ideal man, made in God's image, is a pattern, form or model, a pure intellectual essence, without body

and sex. The terrestrial man, formed of clay and animated by the breath of God, is composed of a mortal body and an immortal soul. When the soul separates from the body, it returns to the divine regions whence it came. The terrestrial body is nourished by the productions of the earth. The soul, a divine and ethereal particle, feeds on the celestial manna, that is on knowledge, on the word of God which comes to it from heaven. "Man," says Deuteronomy, "doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah" (Deut. viii. 3 ; Matt. iv. 4.) The bread and the flesh that God gives the soul to eat, the drink that quenches his thirst, are the pure teachings of wisdom, the Word of God, the Logos or Divine Word. Among men some are born of the earth, others of heaven, others of God. Men of the earth seek for bodily pleasures ; men of heaven give themselves to the arts and sciences, men of God are his ministers and his prophets, who neglect the things of this world in order to devote themselves to eternal and immortal ideas. The prophets are the interpreters and the organs of God, who, through them, reveals his will, they are called men of God, or seers. Moses is the most excellent of the prophets. Men who act according to the divine knowledge are called children of God. Thus Moses says, "You are the sons of the Lord God ; God who has begotten thee—he is thy father."

The man who possesses a great, perfect and truly divinized soul, is even called God, and with reason. Moses is God inasmuch as he is wise. God says to him, "I make thee a God to Pharaoh" (Exod. vii. 1). Compared with God, the sage is a man of God ; compared with the universe he is figuratively accounted a God, but not in truth and essence is he God.

Philo explains allegorically a great number of passages of sacred scripture ; what are called "the books of Moses," and especially the first chapters of Genesis, are the principal object of his efforts. This labour was necessary for the design he had conceived, namely, to set forth the Israelite doctrines in a form and aspect which should lead to their being accepted by foreign nations. Every time then that the

scripture, in its letter, presents a sense inadmissible or too vulgar, paintings which wound modesty, ridiculous usages or usages contrary to those of other people, Philo discovers there a spiritual sense, allegories more or less ingenious. He explains from a moral point of view the events and the precepts, the words and the deeds which are reported in the sacred books. The doctrines of Plato and the east are mingled with the Jewish doctrines which he presents to the nations as the pledge of their future happiness, according to the promise made to Abraham. He teaches the equality, the fraternity of men, children of the same God, the love of one's neighbour, the danger of unruly passions, the excellence of morality, the punishments reserved for vice, and the recompences promised to virtue. In agreement with the philosophers of Greece the sage of Israel recommends forethought, strength of soul, temperance, and justice; he deduces them from goodness, which has its source in the divine wisdom. He principally praises justice; it is the daughter of equality, that brilliant and shadowless light, and it brings forth good will and friendship among men.

To the four philosophical virtues Philo adds others; hope, repentance, faith, piety, and charity, or love of your neighbour. Hope is the first seed which God cast in the reasonable soul. He alone deserves the name of man who puts his hope in God, the author of his being and the cause of his salvation. Hope is a guardian posted at the entrance to the palace of the virtues; you cannot enter there until you have obtained her good graces. After hope comes repentance, which frees man from his errors to take him back to virtue. Penitence is to perfection what the healing of a disease is to a state of permanent health. Perfect faith brings man near the Deity. Piety proceeds from charity or the fear of God; from charity, or love of God, for those who do not suppose any human passion in the divine essence, from fear, for others. Charity, or the love of your neighbour, is the natural sister of piety, of the love of God; it leads to it by a straight and easy way. Those who live according to the law are free; the rest are slaves of their passions.

The true law is not this man's opinion or that, but the just and pure reason which nature has engraven on the immortal spirit. It is that reason which prescribes what we ought to do and forbids what we ought to avoid. But our spirit being often in doubt as to what is proper or not, God declares it by his prophets, who are the interpreters of his will. In devotional exercises Philo values above all else the good intentions of those who engage in them. He speaks forcibly against superstition: "Superstition," he declares, "is neighbour to impiety." It is often engendered by sacrifices and ceremonies, however fair-seeming in themselves. To the great fires in which burn the offerings of the profane and the wicked, God prefers altars without fire, around which the virtues are grouped. The best sacrifice is purity of soul and of heart, good affection toward God.

Circumcision was a subject of mockery for foreigners. Philo ascribes its origin to hygienic considerations. He alleges besides two useful significations; it is the symbol of the retrenchment of worldly pleasures and bodily enjoyments; it teaches men to cast self-love and presumption out of their souls: "Be ye circumcised in the hardness of your heart," says scripture (Deut. x. 16).

Such were the efforts made by the Alexandrine to propagate his religion among the Gentiles, allegorising words and deeds when unreasonable, explaining and symbolising the customs and rites open to raillery, throwing into relief the morals of the sacred books and their affinities with the theosophic teaching of the east and of Greece.

From Alexandria, where Hebrewism found itself in contact with the beliefs of other nations, the impulse given by Philo extended to a distance in all the lands where the Greek tongue was spoken. The following generations treading in his footsteps, his works became a prolific source at which in turn the fathers of the Greek Church, the Gnostics, and the neo-Platonics drew.

Judea by its insulation and its fanaticism was perhaps the country which presented the most effectual barriers to the incoming of foreign ideas. If new beliefs succeeded in

creeping into the population, it was under the cover of the sacred books and as traditions accredited by Moses himself, whose law remained the immovable basis of all things. Nevertheless in the last centuries before Jesus, the Holy Land saw a number of foreigners settle on its soil. The doctrines of other nations not only transfused themselves into it from without ; they surrounded the land on all sides, and penetrating into it together with their adherents ceaselessly offered themselves to the children of Israel. It was in part to withstand the invasion that the Pharisees adopted so many superstitious practices, which separated the Jewish worship from other religions. Nevertheless their design was not to repel foreigners. Far from that, they made ceaseless efforts to bring them in under the character of disciples of Moses ; but they succeeded little in their attempts at proselytism. The superstitions and mummeries of their worship exposed it to the derision of the Gentiles. Notwithstanding the excellence of its doctrines they called forth in the latter less sympathy than repulsion. The Jews, however, had made a concession to those, who, in renouncing idolatry, were unwilling to submit to the diverse requirements of Hebrewism. They distinguished two kinds of proselytes ; those less advanced, who were called proselytes of the gate ; those entirely converted whom they designated by the name of proselytes of righteousness, as we should say, full or complete converts. The first simply abandoned idolatry, and served God according to the law of nature, which was comprised in seven articles, called the precepts of the children of Noah (Acts xv. 20). In the view of Israelites all men were obliged to keep those precepts ; but the Mosaic law concerned only the people of God, and did not bind other nations. The Gentiles who observed the seven precepts were allowed to dwell among the Jews ; they were permitted to enter the temple to serve God, but solely in the first court, called the court of the Gentiles ; the interior court they could not enter.

The proselytes of righteousness on the contrary undertook to observe all the law. They were initiated by baptism, by sacrifices, and by circumcision. They enjoyed the same pri-

vileges and were admitted to the same ceremonies as the Jews by birth ; there was no difference except in regard to marriage with persons of the race of Israel ; the Canaanite proselyte was never admitted to that distinction ; certain conditions were imposed on the Egyptian, the Moabite, the Ammonite, the Edomite ; but no obstacle stood in the way of proselytes from other nations.

Such was the state of religious doctrines among the Jews before the coming of Christ ; within Judea, different schools which were divided on most important points, the immortality of the soul, two principles of good and evil, free will, the rewards and punishments of the life to come, all things which these rejected as not having the authority of Moses, and which those admitted whether by oral traditions which tended to nothing less than to ruin and supplant the law ; on the outside, the same divisions among the Jews and in regard to the Gentiles, constant efforts to attract them to the religion of Moses, to which efforts were made to refer the Greek philosophy and the mental beliefs ; efforts all but unproductive, by reason of the ceremonies and minute practices which stood in the way of the accession of foreigners.

We shall terminate this part of our work by a bird's eye view of the political condition of Palestine at this epoch.

After the death of Herod (750 A.C.) his kingdom was divided among three of his sons, Archelaus, Herod Antipas and Philip. The first had Judea, the second the tetrarchy of Galilee and Petrea, the third that of Trachonitis, Batanea and Gaulanitis.

After a reign of ten years Archelaus is despoiled of his kingdom by the emperor and banished to Vienne in Gaul. Roman procurators administrate Judea under the authority of the governor of Syria. Quirinus, invested with this function, receives orders to take a census in the states of Archelaus, of all the property of individuals, an operation which was carried into effect in 760 A.C. The people rose in opposition. An insurrection was called forth by Judas the Gaulanite and the Pharisee Zadoc. They give it out that the census has for its object to reduce the country into

servitude, and call on the people to take up arms. On all sides there ensue incredible disorders ; robberies and murders are perpetrated under the pretext of public liberty. A great famine is insufficient to put an end to these desolations which extend even into the temple of Jerusalem. Judas and Zadoc establish a fourth religious sect, which, agreeing with the Pharisees in other things, is distinguished from them in maintaining that God alone ought to be acknowledged as Lord and King. Their adherents profess so intense a love of liberty that they expose themselves, them and theirs, to all possible tortures rather than give to a man, whoever he may be, the name of lord and master. This movement, surviving the troubles occasioned by the census, contributed greatly to sustain among the populations that spirit of independence which finally drove the nation into a desperate struggle with the power of Rome. The Jews looked on the foreign domination as a calamity inflicted upon them as a punishment for their sins. But they had a confidence that after a time of trial God would raise up the Messiah who was to deliver them from their foes and to re-establish the throne of David. Collisions of daily occurrence intensified the rancour and exasperated men's minds. The yoke became constantly more galling. The Roman governors arbitrarily took into their hands the appointment of the high priests ; the holy city groaned under the insolence of foreign soldiers. The heart of pious men was beaten down by continual profanations ; to the tribute exacted for Cæsar, to the rapacity of Roman procurators were added frequent attempts to impose the foreign idolatry on the nation, and especially the worship of the head of the empire. The prayers of the people ardently besought the advent of the Christ ; the hope was spread throughout the Jews of Palestine and the neighbouring lands. The title Messiah or Christ was given by the Israelites to persons consecrated by the unction of the sacred oil, such as their kings and their high priests. In a more extended sense it was applied in the olden time to the chiefs by whom the people were delivered from any oppression and even to foreign liberators. Saul, David, Solomon are called Christ's or God's anointed

ones. (Lev. vi. 20 ; 1 Sam. x. 1 ; 2 Sam. xxiii. 1 ; Isaiah lxi. 1 ; Isaiah xlv. 1). Even the King of Persia, Cyrus, who put an end to the Babylonish captivity receives the title in Scripture.

The Messiah or Christ which the Jews expected at the time of the appearance of Jesus, was to be a powerful warrior, who, born of the posterity of David, would re-establish the kingdom of His ancestor. He would at the same time be the greatest of the prophets, and the series of those men of God would come to an end in His person. These words of Scripture were applied to Him. "Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him shall ye hearken." (Deut. xviii. 15). It was also held that he was indicated in this passage of the book of Daniel ; "I saw one like the son of man come on the clouds of heaven to the ancient of days, and there was given him a kingdom that all people should serve him, and his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." (Dan. vii. 13, 14). "But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever," (18). King, son of David, prophet like Moses, such were the characters which the Christ was to unite in himself ; in virtue of these titles he would be called *Son of God*. In Biblical phraseology the name Son of God is given to these who are elected and beloved of the Most High, whether they are people, king, or a just man and filled with the Holy Spirit. (Ex. iv. 22 ; 2 Sam. vii. 14 ; Ps. ii. 7, lxxxix. 27 ; Hos. xi. 1 ; Wisdom ii. 13, 16, 18, v. 5, ix. 18 ; Ecclesiasticus xv. 22, xxiii. 1, 4.) Men eminent in dignity or powerful by divine inspiration are called even gods (Ex. vii. 1 ; Ps. xlv. 6, 7, lxxxii. 1, 6). It is then figuratively that the expression Son of God is taken in the Bible. Men there are sons of God according to the spirit and in some sort by divine adoption. Now the expected Christ, having all the virtues and all the titles to which this qualification was attached, would deserve more than any other to receive it ; and as no other had united, no other would unite them in so eminent a degree, He is the

Son of God transcendently, He is God's well beloved Son, His unique Son. Accordingly, in speaking of this Messiah the Scriptures restrict to Him in an absolute manner the title of *the* Son of God. But the Jews confined His present mission within a purely Israelite circle. If they knew that, according to the promises made to Abraham, all the nations of the earth would be blessed in the posterity of that patriarch ; if the pictures of the prophets represented foreign nations as uniting themselves with the holy nation, and going up to Jerusalem to worship the Most High, these events appeared to them only in a distant future. What they expected from the Christ in their days was deliverance from the foreign despotism, and the uniting under His sway all the tribes of God's people whether at home or scattered abroad. This expectation of a liberator, this confidence at once religious and patriotic called forth and sustained an extreme excitement among the Jews of Palestine. Populations burning with impatience were ever ready to reply to the appeal made by Zealots in the name of the law of liberty. Hence so many frustrated enterprises, so many agitations and troubles which had for their result only to make their yoke heavier and more intolerable. But the greater the oppression, the more frequent the profanations, the more earnest were the prayers that were put up to God, the stronger and the more vivid the national hope in His aid. Attentive ears welcomed the slightest rumours, all hearts called for Christ the redeemer of Israel.

Such a state of the public mind, in opening an easy way to the enthusiastic and the ambitious, was a permanent source of difficulty for the government of Judea. After the banishment of Archelaus, the helm of state went into the hands of the sacerdotal aristocracy, who wielded it under the jealous supervision of the procurators. The High Priest had the principal authority ; the superior council of the elders shared with him the cares of the government. They answered to the Romans for the public tranquillity, and they were for the Jews, the guardians of the national laws and customs. They had to struggle on the one side against the irritation of the people and the rivalries of the

sects and the schools, and, on the other, against the pride and cupidity of the imperial functionaries, for whom the external agitations supplied an opportunity of pillage, and a source of fortune. While interposing with the procurators in order to obtain respect for the national usages and beliefs, the Israelite government did not the less show themselves decided adversaries of the innovators and the zealots whose insurrectional attempts, they were bound to frustrate.

The middle and higher classes, who knew the power of Rome, took their stand on the side of the supreme national council ; it was the same with the greater part of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. In the provinces, the policy of the aristocracy was open to suspicion. There was a disposition to see in those who directed the public affairs, instruments and accomplices of the foreign domination. Galilee especially passed for a country of disobedience and turbulence. In its bosom had arisen most of the contemporaneous sects and seditions. The popular masses threw themselves ardently before any one who declared that he was sent by heaven to bring words of consolation and hope.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Christianity being born in the oriental regions of the Roman Empire, whence it spread to the confines of the West, it is suitable to say some words on the condition of that Empire at the time of the coming of Christ. In the days of Augustus, the Roman territory was bounded in Europe by the Rhine and the Danube, in Asia by Armenia, the Euphrates and Arabia ; in Africa by Ethiopia and the deserts of Lybia and the Sahara. In Europe, the empire had to defend itself against the half-savage hordes of Germany and Sarmatia, and in Asia against the Parthians and the Arabs.

In relation to languages and civilisation, the Roman provinces were divided into two principal parts ; one on the east, composed of all the countries which had depended on the ancient Greek monarchies, and in which the Greek lan-

guage predominated ; the other, in the west, which was under the immediate influence of Rome, and in which the Latin tongue gained ascendancy day by day, substituting itself for the ancient idioms. With the exception of Italy and Sicily, and the province of Africa, the western part of the empire offered only nations little civilised. In Africa, Numidia was governed by Roman magistrates, Mauritania retained its kings. The province of Africa proper was much more advanced ; there flourished Hippo, Utica, and Carthage, which had become an opulent colony of the Roman people. The civilisation and the tongue of Rome did not prevail in Spain, except in Betica, (Guadalquivir, Tartesus in the south-west), and along the Mediterranean shore. In Gaul, the borders of the Mediterranean had also a Latin physiognomy, except Marseilles, a Greek city, which preserved the language and the customs of its mother country. All the rest of the Spanish and Gaulish lands were barbarous, as well as Illyria and the regions on the south of the Danube. The island of Britain had not yet been conquered.

Sicily had long received civilization from the Greeks. Ancient colonies of the same nation bordered southern Italy, which, on that account, was called Magna Graecia. The north of the Peninsula, or Cisalpine Gaul, fearfully rent by the conflicts of the Romans against the Gaulish nations as well as by civil wars, began to quit a state of barbarism. Central Italy was occupied by the Etruscans, and by divers clans in the midst of which rose Rome, the capital of the Empire. That warlike city, at last laying down the roughness of its manners, allowed itself to be captivated by the pleasures and the vices of Greek civilisation. The sons of its opulent citizens studied the fine arts and the sciences in the Hellenic cities, at Athens, at Alexandria, at Marseilles. Rome under Augustus saw one of the finest literary ages of the world, shine and flourish. New inhabitants flocked thither from all parts ; numerous contingents arrived from Greece and the East ; the time was not distant when philosophers would open schools there, and the satirical poet think himself justified to call it a Greek city. The eastern

part of the empire was much less civilised than the western.

The first cities of Greece were then Athens and Corinth. Athens, celebrated for its ancient glory, was still distinguished by its schools of philosophy and Belles Lettres ; the Romans allowed it to govern itself freely by its own laws. Corinth, destroyed in the year 146 A.C., had been restored by Augustus, who had peopled it with a large number of freed men ; it was renowned for opulence, luxury, and voluptuousness.

Numerous colonies proceeding from Greece and its islands had already founded cities in the neighbouring lands from Thessaly to Byzantium, and on all the sea coast of Asia Minor. The portion of this littoral, which extends from the Hellespont to beyond the island of Rhodes, was entirely covered with Hellenic populations ; there shone Ephesus, the most important city of the region. Beyond Rhodes, to the frontiers of Syria you saw on the coast several cities of Greek origin, among others, Tarsus, a powerful and very populous city, which was regarded as the capital of Cilicia. In Tarsus, there existed schools for instruction of all kinds ; and so were philosophy and Belles Lettres cultivated there, that according to Strabo, the city in that particular surpassed Athens, Alexandria, and any other part of the country. A great number of Greek cities stood also on the coast and in the exterior of Syria, Egypt, and Cyrenaica. In the first position was Alexandria of Egypt, the most considerable city of the empire after Rome. In its bosom, the Hellenic genius put itself in communication not only with the doctrines of the Egyptian priesthood, but also the ideas and the beliefs of entire Asia, which had there representatives and defenders. Among the Greek cities, Alexandria had for rival, Antioch, the capital of Syria. In this last country, the Hellenes found themselves in presence of an ancient civilisation. Their language, which was that of commerce, prevailed along the littoral. But in the interior, the populations made use of the Syriac, which was spoken equally in Judea and on the borders of the Euphrates. The regions on the farther side of that river, though subject to

the power of the Parthians, kept up frequent relations with Syria, with which they were connected by a common origin, an identical language and great affinities in religion and morals.

Judea at this time formed at first, as we have said, a state distinct and tributary, under Herod and his son Archelaus ; it was afterwards annexed to Syria, and administered by Roman procurators.

The History of Christianity may be divided into four periods :—

The First, or the Church of the first centuries, extends from the baptism of Jesus to the Council of Nice (A.D. 325).

The Second, or the Imperial Church, extends from the Council of Nice to the schism of Photius (858).

The Third, or the Church of the Middle Ages, extends from the schism of Photius to the Reformation (1517).

The Fourth, or the Modern Church, comprehends posterior times.

Book the First.

THE CHURCH OF THE FIRST AGES

(30-325.)

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

SUMMARY. — Silence of Profane Authors — Apocryphal Writings — Acknowledged Gospels — The Apostle John is not the Author of the Fourth — Acts of the Apostles — Epistles — Apocalypse — Other Works of the First Centuries.

WHOEVER wishes to study the beginnings of Christianity without preconceptions, sees himself at first stopped by numerous obstacles ; the earliest times are confused and obscure. In the complete silence of the profane writers, you hardly know where you are in the midst of popular legends, uncertain traditions, and writings either apocryphal or altered. The Latin authors that are anterior to Trajan (98-117) do not know even the name of Christian. Juvenal lashes with his sarcasms the Oriental superstitions : Chaldeans, Egyptians, Jews, peoples of Asia Minor—all are exposed to his attacks ; he says nothing of the followers of Jesus, whose existence he does not seem to suspect. Tacitus and Suetonius, who have heard them vaguely spoken of, regard them as a sect of evil-doers.

Pliny the younger (62-115) is the first that expresses himself in a precise manner respecting the Christians ; but what he knows of them he has learnt only in his government of Bithynia (112). At Rome the nascent church is lost in the midst of its crowds, without drawing on it the public attention, or the severities of the state. The silence of the Latins may be explained by the small number of the members of the church in Rome, most of whom were of Greek or Israelite origin, as well as by the distance of the lands where Christianity was born and grew. The same cause does not exist for the Greek and Oriental writers ; yet they are not more explicit.

The Hellenic writers who go back beyond Marcus Aurelius (161) say nothing of the new religion. Lucian of

Samosata (born 120) is the first of them that mentions it. In the age of Christ three celebrated authors flourished among the Jews. Philo (born 30 A.C.), Flavius Josephus (born 37 A.D.), and Justus of Tiberias. We possess the works of the two former : the latter has left merely a trace. None of the three has transmitted any information respecting Jesus and his church. Born twenty-five or thirty years before our era, Philo was still alive under the reign of Claudius (died 51 A.D.). Although he dwelt in the capital of Egypt, and the nature of his studies and the direction of his mind were such as to call his attention to the doctrine of Jesus, he does not say a word about it. Josephus, issue of the sacerdotal race, saw the light of day in Jerusalem a short time after the Passion. He remains in Judea until the capture of that city (70), and then accompanies Titus to Rome. In his works, composed in the last quarter of the first century, he enumerates the different heads of sects which arose in his days among the Jews, without making the least allusion to Jesus, and to his followers in Judea or Rome.

Justus of Tiberias, a native of Galilee, was contemporaneous with Josephus, whom he contradicts in many points. The analysis of his works, left by Photius, shows that he was mute in regard to Christianity and its founder. The silence of Josephus astonished the Christians of the first ages, and perhaps it was objected to them by their adversaries. Thence the pious interpolations which slipped into his works. In regard to Philo, the believers of the ancient days considered him as one of themselves on account of his doctrines ; they equally claimed the Therapeutae, whom they made the predecessors of the Egyptian monks.

The Christians of the 3d and 4th centuries, misled by what was under their eyes, fancied that Christianity had in its origin filled the world with its fame, and ascribed the silence of the Jewish authors to the ill-will of that nation. This was a double error. The preaching and death of Jesus may well not have made at Jerusalem a sufficiently great impression to make Josephus, if he had heard of it, think it a duty to consecrate its memory in his pages ; and then the Nazarenes of Judea, poor and without influence, either were not

known to him, or appeared too inconsiderable to be worthy of history. When he resides at Rome, the little church of that city is, beyond a doubt, unknown to the world in which the favourite of Titus lived.

The books written by Christians are then, with slight exception, the sole monuments which history has to consult down till the end of the second century ; but it is not always easy to determine the degree of confidence which they deserve. In our days, when the press supplies at once for each work several hundreds or several thousands of identical copies, the least alteration would be promptly discovered and acknowledged. But in ancient days books were manuscripts. In passing from hand to hand, and from generation to generation, writings so preserved would be liable to changes even without any bad design, and still more, if the prevention of error guided the hand of the transcriber. The complaints of Dionysius of Corinth, of Irenaeus, of Origen, afford means of judging to what an extent this evil might proceed.

In the earliest ages each church formed a community in and of itself, standing alone in its city or in its province ; no common centre, no general meetings. The scriptures in use were far from being uniform ; a crowd of texts circulated, more or less unlike, more or less corrupted. Christianity infiltrating itself among the multitude, fond of legends, it is incredible what a number of writings appeared which the popular credulity accepted with enthusiasm, notwithstanding their simple ignorance, their strange anachronisms, their unheard-of marvels. We may refer, in the number, to books of magic addressed by Jesus to Peter and Paul ; Apocryphal writings published under the name of Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, Isaiah, Elijah, &c. Most of these books are lost. Some of them remain complete, fragments of divers others, and the titles of a great number. Among those whose names alone are known there are some twenty Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypses, Itineraries, and other works, all ascribed to apostles or disciples of Jesus Christ. In the number of writings that survive, are the apocryphal gospels, which recount the infancy

of Jesus, the history of Mary and Joseph, or of other personages of the New Covenant—words of puerile credulity, of incredible silliness. Independently of the books composed by simple people who gathered the popular legends, each sect, small or not (and the number was great), published gospels of their own, acts, revelations, prophecies, memoirs, and a crowd of other writings.

Of the Apocryphal facts, and false or ridiculous beliefs with which minds long pleased themselves, many survived, and have perpetuated themselves down to this day by means of the works of the fathers or ancient authors, who held them for true, by means of the legends, the acts of the saints, by means of fables of ignorant and barbarous ages, by means of popular superstitions which the official churches acquired and consecrated. The New Testament is in all respects the purest source to which we can recur, not by chance, and without choice, but with the aid of judicious criticism. According to a tradition not at all unlikely, the apostles and disciples of Jesus drew up, ten years after his death, a gospel in the Syriac tongue, whence proceeded the gospels called of the Apostles, of Matthew, of the Hebrews, of the Nazarenes, of the Ebionites. These diverse names denote the same work, except certain various readings. The primitive text more than once received additions and modifications, whether to recall omitted recollections, or to consecrate legends and opinions adopted by certain Christian communities. This Syriac Gospel served as the principal type for the narratives which afterwards spread in other countries, with the exception of that of John. The Gospel of Matthew, attributed to the apostle of that name, is the only one of the four of the New Testament which was written in the diction employed by Jesus. It was solely in the second century that, according to Papias, it was translated into Greek for the use of the Christians in pagan lands; in the interval it may have received different additions. Papias speaks of it under the name of *Logia* (discourses) doubtless because the discourses of Jesus form the most important and most recent part of it, for the believers of the Hellenic lands (Euseb. *Hist.* iii. 39).

Some persons regard the gospel of Mark as a compendium of that of Matthew. It would be more exact to say that the additional portions in the latter, especially the discourses and the two first chapters, were added only after the completion of the second gospel. The latter was written in the Greek after the foundation of the Church of Antioch, to serve the Christians come over from Hellenism. It was the only one in use in Asia Minor during the first century. John Mark spoken of in the *Acts of the Apostles* (Acts xii. 12 ; xiii. 5), has been considered its author. According to John the elder, Mark wrote it, according to what he had heard Peter say (Eusebius, *Ibid.*)

The gospel of Luke is certainly the work of a disciple of Paul. It is of little consequence whether it was written in Macedonia or Achaia, as has been inferred from the second Epistle to the Corinthians (viii. 18) or during the sojourn of Luke at Rome, the same as the *Acts of the Apostles*, which are by the same author. The gospel of John seems much posterior to the three preceding gospels. Some refer it to the end of the first century. Others place it in the first quarter or even in the middle of the second. Notwithstanding some divergences, the three first gospels proceed from the same source ; the tradition is identical. On the contrary there are in the fourth notable differences, whether in the narration of facts, or in the exposition of doctrines. According to the three first, which are called synoptics, the duration of the Master's preaching may be reduced to less than a year ; it took place wholly in Galilee and in some neighbouring places ; Jesus made only one journey to Jerusalem. Is it necessary to believe that those evangelists confounded times and places in a distant perspective, and condensed facts which took place at different dates. According to John, the ministry of Jesus lasted during more than three years ; Judea was its principal theatre. Jesus went into Galilee only by excursions ; he made not one journey to Jerusalem, but three. Moreover the fourth gospel reports several facts which are not in the others, and on the contrary omits diverse circumstances which they mention. But the greatest difference is connected with the altogether

special character which John gives to the mission and the person of Jesus. That evangelist sets forth the glorification of the Christ and his assimilation to the oriental Word. In the synoptics nothing is said which compels us to ascribe to Jesus any other quality than that of prophet ; he is the most eminent of the men of God ; the well beloved before all others ; but his words and deeds do not go beyond the prophetic character. He even avoids at first to declare himself the Messiah ; it is not till late that he admits it to his apostles, and then he speaks under the seal of secrecy. John proceeds in a totally opposite manner. From the first he announces the doctrine of the incarnation of the Word, he designates Jesus as the Lamb of God. Jesus is his only son, and the words *Son of God* have not in this gospel the same signification as in the former. With him Jesus always represents himself as the Messiah. His enemies are not only the priesthood and the aristocracy, but the entire Jewish people, who are irritated at his pretensions to supreme dignity, to equality with God. The speeches which the fourth evangelist puts into the mouth of Jesus differ in both form and substance from those ascribed to him by the other evangelists. He seems to have had for his principal object to expound the doctrine of the Logos or Word taught by Plato and the oriental worships, whose principles and forms of language he reproduces. If now you examine each of the gospels in particular you readily find diverse additions or interpolations. Let us indicate first the two first chapters of Matthew and the two first of Luke ; they contain the birth of John the Baptist, the supernatural conception of Jesus, his birth at Bethlehem, the homage offered by the magi, the massacre of the innocents, the flight into Egypt, the worship paid by the shepherds, and some other facts referrible to the infancy of Jesus. These four chapters are in contradiction one with another, and each of them in its constituent parts compared together. Of the things more or less marvellous that they relate, you see no trace in the other chapters of Luke and Matthew, any more than in the gospels of Mark and John or in the Epistles of Paul ; there are even some which are irrecon-

cilable with other passages of diverse books of the New Testament. The non-reproduction of the two first chapters of Matthew by Mark proves that they did not exist at the time of the drawing up of the second gospel; nor are they found in the Matthew of the Ebionites. The two first chapters of Luke failed equally in the editions followed by the ancient sects, among others, in the Luke of Marcion.

There also exist in Matthew other passages which do not appear in Mark between similar verses. We give as an example verses 17, 18, and 19 of the 16th chapter, which Mark does not reproduce, although verses 19 and 20 of his 8th chapter are identical with verses 18 and 20 of the 16th of Matthew. The three verses omitted by Mark fail equally in Luke. They relate to the play on words in regard to Peter's name and the promise of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Peter, a man of word and deed more than any of his eleven colleagues, would have acquired in regard to them a real superiority in the minds of the Nazarenes, whose opinion would have been transmitted by that addition to their gospel of Matthew. It is even possible that the interpolation made by them in the midst of their discussions with the disciples of Paul, had for its object to extol, in the person of Peter, the corypheus of the Judaizing sect.

Another addition is met with in the 19th verse of the 28th chapter of Matthew. It is relative to the baptismal formula: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." Mark has not the formula in his corresponding passage (xvi. 16). This formula, omitted also by Luke and John, was not in use in the days of the Apostles or even much later. In the Apostolic age baptism was administered in the name of Christ, or Jesus Christ (Acts ii. 38; viii. 12-16; x. 48; Rom. vi. 3; Gal. iii. 27). Justin is the first that mentions it. Assuredly it was not found in Matthew's original which was used by the Nazarenes. It was introduced at the time of its translation into Greek, a time when the dogmas of Plato began to make their way into the Hellenic churches. The seventh verse of the 5th chapter of John's

first epistle is an addition made in the same view. It is absent from the ancient copies. These two passages of John and Matthew, both interpolated, are the only ones that regard the trinitarian conception. (For other additions to Matthew, see Matt. xiv. 27-32; Mark vi. 50, 51; Matt. xvii. 22-xviii. 1; Mark ix. 32, 33; Matt. xxvi. 24-26, 51-55; Mark xiv. 21, 22, 47, 48; Matt. xxvii. 2-11, 51-54; Mark xv. 1, 2, 38, 39). In the gospel of Mark the twelve last verses are regarded as an addition, proceeding from the zeal of the copyists. They existed only in a small number of MSS. ; and Jerome is of opinion that they may be suppressed. The critics reject the 21st chapter of John's gospel. In fact the narration ends with that which precedes. But a more important question arises in connection with that Scripture. It is asked whether it was really composed by John. It is not denied in tradition that it was published at Ephesus about the termination of the first century or the commencement of the second. Now in the last quarter of the first century, the church of that city was governed by John the elder or John the presbyter who was the most distinguished Christian of his time. The Church of Ephesus also reckoned among its disciples eminent men such as Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. After the death of John the elder, the similitude of the name (John), his high renown, and the quality of the disciple of the Lord given him by Papias caused him to be confounded with John, son of Zebedee. This mistake caused the latter to be accounted the evangelist, and gave birth to all the fables which legend has uttered respecting him. This is an historical point which may be examined with interest. There exists no trace of the presence of the apostle John at Ephesus, either in the New Testament or in the works which remain in our hands, whether of contemporary authors or those of the second century, who preceded the age of Marcus Aurelius (161). The confusion which gained footing between the apostle and the elder is not accredited by any considerable testimony as long as Papias and Polycarp live, and yet they were disciples of the latter. In his letter to the Philippians,

in which, however, he seeks on all sides for authorities to corroborate his word, Polycarp observes, as to the brother of James, a silence which would be inexplicable, had he been, during years, the scholar of that apostle. In regard to Papias, what is said and cited of him by Eusebius in his history of the church (iii. 39), excludes all possibility of the abode of John the apostle at Ephesus. After having reported a passage of Irenæus (Book v., chap. xxxiii. 4), showing that Papias was a disciple of John and companion of Polycarp, Eusebius adds that Papias, speaking of himself in the preface to one of his works, does not in any way say that he had seen and heard the holy apostles, but only that he had received the rule of faith from persons who had lived with them: "If," says Papias, "I met with anyone who had followed the ancients, I asked him what he had learnt from them; what Andrew said, or Peter, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or some other of the disciples of the Lord, what say Aristion and John the elder, also disciples of the Lord. For I did not believe that I could gain as much profit from the reading of books as from the word of men that were still alive."

In his questions Papias, as you may see, spoke in the present of Aristion and John the Elder, and in the past of John the Apostle and his colleagues. At the moment when he put those questions, the latter, beyond doubt, existed no longer, while the two others were still alive. The name of disciples of the Lord is given to Aristion and to John Presbyter as to the apostles themselves. "It is necessary to remark," continues Eusebius, "that Papias here repeats twice the name of John. It is clear that by the first whom he puts with Peter, James, Matthew, and the other apostles, he understands the Evangelist (Eusebius, following the belief of his day, gives that title to the son of Zebedee), and he distinguishes him from the second, whom he puts out of the number of apostles, whom he describes as Elder, and cites only after Aristion. This confirms the statement of those who assure us that there were in Asia two men of that name, and that the tombs of both were seen at Ephesus; which it was necessary to remark,

because, if the Apocalypse is not from the first, it is at least from the second. Now Papias, of whom we speak, testifies that he learnt the words and the sentiments of the apostles from those who had lived with them, and that he himself was the disciple of Aristion and John the Presbyter." Papias according to his own testimony, had not then seen or heard John the Apostle; but he had been the disciple of John the Presbyter. Now, if the apostle had, as is supposed, inhabited Ephesus from the war of Judea to the reign of Trajan, that is during the very time when the elder directed the church of that city, and had Papias for his disciple, how could he not have known the son of Zebedee? The well attested existence of John the Presbyter at Ephesus singularly embarrassed the earnest men who wished to get to the bottom of the facts. On one side the popular belief represented that the apostle had lived long, and had died at Ephesus; on another, the contemporary testimonies bore only on the presbyter whose tomb was in the city. Eusebius attempts to make his way through the matter, by saying that the words of Papias confirm the statement of those who report that there were in Asia two men of the name of John, and that you see in Ephesus the tomb of both. What is the fact? The words of Papias do not confirm either the abode of John the Apostle in Asia, or the existence of his tomb in Ephesus; on the contrary, they prove that the latter was never in that city, since Papias, who dwelt there at the time in question, neither saw nor knew John the Presbyter. Eusebius had several times occasion to visit Ephesus, and to converse with people who knew it well; can one believe that he was ignorant of the true state of things? If he was aware of it, why not speak on his own authority, instead of throwing himself on an uncertain account? The reason is that in the fourth century that Bishop of Caesarea could not openly declare that John the Presbyter was the only one of the two who had a tomb in Ephesus, a circumstance which destroyed the hypothesis of the sojourn, and the death of the Apostle in that place.

Jerome, who lived in the latter part of the same century,

says in his book of *Illustrious Men* (the article 'John') that of the three epistles current under his name, the first is by the apostle, and the two others by John the Presbyter whose tomb is shown in Ephesus ; then he adds that, according to several persons, the two tombs were monuments raised to the memory of John the Evangelist, and he announces that he will explain himself on the matter when he shall in order come to Papias, the scholar of the latter. When on the article 'Papias,' he recalls the passage of that father as much on John and others of the twelve as on Aristion and John the elder, also disciples of the Lord ; and he does so, he says, on account of the opinion of those who will have it, that the two last epistles of John are by the elder, and not the apostle ; but Jerome forgets in this place the promise he has made before to examine the question whether the two monuments whose existence was asserted at Ephesus were constructed or not for one and the same John. On this point he observes complete silence. It is perhaps by Irenæus that the error which substitutes the apostle for the presbyter was definitively consecrated about the termination of the second century. That author reports that John, the disciple who lay on Jesus' bosom, published his gospel when he dwelt at Ephesus with the view of throwing into light the doctrine of the Word, and of destroying the errors of Cerinthus ; but that well-beloved disciple who wrote the gospel, is at the same time for him John, the Presbyter of Ephesus. Irenæus knew only one John, apostle, presbyter, teacher, whom he made the author of all the works given under that name, even the apocalypse, and the supreme director of the different churches of the province of Asia. There is evident confusion on his part. If his works have not undergone alteration, and he really took the Presbyter for the Apostle, we must hold that remembering that he had in his childhood heard Polycarp speak of his relations with John, a *disciple of the Lord*, Irenæus supposed, according to the opinion current at the time in which he wrote, that John, one of the twelve, was meant ; while Polycarp, a co-disciple of Papias, gave that qualification only to their common master, John the Elder,

the chief of the church at Ephesus, the exile of Patmos, who was also a *disciple of the Lord*.

We proceed further : Let us for a moment forget the passage of Papias reported by Eusebius ; does not the reading of the fourth gospel suffice to demonstrate the error ? Its dogmatic portion is the work of a Platonising Christian, not to say a Gnostic, and cannot therefore be set down to the account of any of the twelve apostles. In regard to the historical part, if it were by the brother of James, how can you explain the divergences which separate it from the three first gospels ? Would John have said nothing, for instance, of the demoniacs of whom he was a spectator as well as his colleagues ? Would he have said nothing of the last meal, and the institution of the supper at which all the apostles were present ? Would he have passed in silence the transfiguration, and the agony of the garden, of which Peter, James, and himself could alone give testimony ? Would he not have emphasised the principal group, which those three apostles form in the synoptics ? And yet you do not see on his part any voluntary reticence ; he often relates facts of less importance which his predecessors have already mentioned, and appears to make it his purpose to retrace all the preaching of Christ. On the other hand, nothing stands in the way of John the Presbyter's being regarded as the author of the fourth gospel. According to Eusebius (His. iii. 39), he had collected traditions a certain number of which were reported in the books of Papias. From these traditions, and other sources, he may have drawn the documents which served for the composition of the gospel which bears his name. Among the traditions of John which Papias cited there is one which has exercised the zeal of commentators : " John the Presbyter said that Mark wrote what he heard Peter say, but that he had not reported the things in the order in which they had been said or done by the Saviour, because he had never seen him, and that he was simply a disciple of Peter, who preached the gospel according to the method most useful to those who heard it, without exactly observing the rules of history." Some persons, unwilling to believe that his appreciation applies to our Mark, have supposed

that there were two editions of his gospel, one incomplete, which John criticised ; and the other, which is the second of our synoptics. This is an hypothesis which nothing justifies. The words of John, which might seem strange in another's mouth, are explained if, as every thing seems to indicate, the fourth gospel was drawn up by him, or by some one of his disciples. This presbyter, who knew the history of Jesus, such as it is there set forth, would have been surprised at the mode of narration followed by Mark ; and to give a reason of the difference, he said to himself that Peter, the inspirer of that evangelist, preached the good news, not with historical exactitude, but according to the method which he thought would be most useful to his auditors. John spoke only of Mark because his gospel was the only one in use among the Christians of Asia Minor ; had he had under his eyes the gospels of Matthew and Luke, he would doubtless have given an analogous criticism of them, all three being conceived on the same system. Moreover, the fourth gospel is not the work of a common man. It supposes historical, theosophic and poetic ability which surpasses the power of other Christians of that period, of whom a recollection has come down to us. The presbyter John is the only one whom his reputation can cause to be regarded as its author. His renown as a teacher of the church would authorise the belief that he had studied in superior schools, and imbued himself with Philonic ideas. Let us add that the fourth gospel has always been ascribed to the head of the church of Ephesus, to the exile of Patmos, who is no other than the Presbyter himself, and that of the three epistles transmitted under the name of John, two are positively given as emanating from an elder.

Everything then concurs to prove that our fourth gospel was written by John the Elder, or by his school, according to the traditions of the master.

After the gospels, the principal authorities which the New Testament presents for this history are the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul. Modern criticism has made prolonged efforts to invalidate the historical value of

the Acts, but without much success. If we may make little of the legends which the book reports, the remainder does not seem to deserve all the reproaches thrown upon it. In regard to the Epistles of Paul, the four first give occasion for no doubt. The five that follow have been assailed by different critics by whom they are regarded either as apocryphal or as interpolated; the majority agree to reject the Epistles to Timothy and to Titus. Without entering into the discussions we may report that the Epistle to the Hebrews is the only one which called forth doubts in the first ages, and it must be added that if it is not the work of Paul, it was at least written by his disciples a short time after his death. The so-called Catholic Epistles gave rise to much uncertainty. In the times of Eusebius (4th century) the first Epistle of Peter and the first of John were alone received without difficulty. The Syrian copies have neither the second Epistle of Peter nor the second and third of John, nor the Epistle of Jude, which were no doubt absent from the original Greek manuscripts in which they had been translated.

According to Eusebius Papias often cited passages from the first Epistle of Peter and from the first of John. It is not known that they were quoted by more ancient writers. This is understood in regard to the Epistle of John, for it was written in the days of Papias, a disciple of the Elder, who has the repute of being its author. The second Epistle of Peter appears to be of an anterior date, although it is doubtful whether it proceeds from the author whose name it bears.

The object of the Epistle of James is to oppose Paul's doctrine on faith and works. The Apocalypse has encountered much opposition. At the end of the fourth century most of the Hellenic churches still refused to admit it. Its date has been fixed in the year 68, during the siege of Jerusalem. Nero is the antichrist. The terrible war which he carried on in Judea rendered his name an object of execration with the Israelites. The Apocalypse cannot be by the same author as the fourth gospel. The style differs from it not less than the ideas. It is a judaizing work. In this

character it would not be unlikely to be by the apostle John, if that Galilean fisherman were versed in rabbinical doctrines. History may question, but with more reserve, different works which the first Christians long considered as sacred writings. In a very ancient catalogue of the books of the Bible are found the Epistle of Barnabas, the book of the Pastor or Shepherd, the Acts of Paul and the Apocalypse of Peter. Eusebius testifies that in his age the Shepherd, rejected by some, was in great favour with other personages. It was read publicly in the church. The first Epistle of Clement enjoyed an authority almost equal to that of the sacred books. It was also read in the churches. In an Epistle to the Romans Dionysius of Corinth bears witness that this was an ancient usage, (160-180). It subsisted also in many places at the time of Jerome (340-420). The Epistles of Ignatius, although ancient, seem posterior to him to whom they are ascribed. Independently of these books, there appeared in the course of the second century a great number of writings emanating from Christians of all communions. There remains little or nothing from the pens of the dissident sects, their systems are known almost only by the refutations of their adversaries. In regard to works attributed to the orthodox of the dominant Church, many still subsisted in the age of Eusebius, who has preserved for us certain fragments of them ; but most of them perished from that date. Hegisippus, who flourished under the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), is the first that attempted a history of the Church. Eusebius transmits to us some passages of it ; they give one the idea that Hegisippus was credulous and inclined to the legendary spirit. About the same time the Christian doctrines began to appear before the public in the writings of Justin the Martyr and other Apologists.

Conflict with dissidence gave birth, from the middle of the second century, to a multitude of writings, the majority of which have not come down to these days. The most important of those which remain were composed by Irenæus, bishop of Lyons. The author, of Greek origin, came in his youth from Asia Minor into Gaul where he wrote his book

in the Hellenic tongue. But the greater part of the original text is lost, being supplied by a translation into half-barbarous Latin, which is far from offering all the guarantees of fidelity and exactitude. Such are the principal documents for the history of the two first centuries of the Church.

In the third century monuments abound both sacred and profane. Christianity has spread into the divers provinces of the Roman Empire. All eyes are fixed upon it. It is no longer a mysterious society which propagates itself in the shade ; it is a religion which, in the midst of obstacles, rises and becomes great on the ruins of Hellenism. An ardent struggle is joined between the teachers of the Church and the defenders of the ancient worship, between the constancy of the martyrs and the cruelty of the persecutors. The memory of the violent acts of Paganism remains vivid ; but of the writings which it had published against the Christian doctrines a small number only survives, together with fragments of some others ; all the rest, after the victory, are lost in oblivion or have disappeared at the hands of the pious conquerors.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE BAPTISM OF JESUS TO THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM. (30-70.)

SUMMARY :—Jesus—His Doctrine—Preaching of the Apostles—Martyrdom of Stephen—Conversion of Paul—His Mission to the Gentiles—Paul and Barnabas in Cyprus, in Pamphylia, in Pisidia, in Lycaonia—Conference of Jerusalem—Peter at Antioch—Paul in Asia Minor, in Macedonia, in Achaia—His Sojourn at Corinth and at Ephesus—The Christians of Rome—Last Journey of Paul to Jerusalem—The Jews plot his destruction—His Captivity in Cæsarea—Twice brought to the bar—Paul at Rome—Peter did not enter that city—Where did Paul die?—What became of the Apostles of Judea?—Nero did not persecute the Christians—Paul's Doctrine—Organization of the Church—Baptism—The Eucharist—Vocation of the Gentiles.

THE fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar (A.D.), Pontius Pilate being procurator of Judea, the word of God came to John ; he preaches a baptism of repentance, and announces the approach of the kingdom of heaven ; the people flock to him from Jerusalem and Judea, as well as from the lands beyond the Jordan. Jesus comes in his turn. He is about thirty years of age. If he appeared in the first year of John's ministry, he was born about the year 752 U.C., that is two years after the death of Herod, and eight years before the census carried into effect by Quirinus. If he received baptism, not before the next year, his birth is a little farther off from Herod's death, and a little nearer to the census ; but any way, it took place in the interval from one to the other of these two events. Joseph, a carpenter of Nazareth in Galilee, whom the genealogies bring down in a line from David, was the father of Jesus ; his mother bore the name of Mary, or Miriam ; the gospels speak of several brothers and sisters. History knows nothing more of the family of Christ ; it has not accepted the details relative to his birth and his infancy which are reported in the

two first chapters of Matthew, and in the two first chapters of Luke. These four chapters belong to the region of legends. We must equally refer to the class of legendary writings all that the apocryphal gospels and the traditions of the first ages have transmitted on the private life of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.

On his quitting the river Jordan, where he had been baptized, the Holy Spirit descended on Jesus. After a retirement of forty days in the desert, the work of the mission commences ; Jesus invites the people to repent and to prepare for the kingdom of God which is at hand. These words, Kingdom of God, had two different acceptations, according as earth or heaven was spoken of. On the earth the kingdom of God was in the popular thought the kingdom of David, free and restored ; by the reign of God was also meant the reign of piety and justice ; the kingdom of God or heaven was in the popular thought, God reigning in his glory in the midst of the angels. The good news of the kingdom of God, or simply of the kingdom, was understood by the Jews in the sense of the expulsion of foreigners, and the re-establishment of the throne of David ; the son of Joseph, on the contrary, announced the reign or prevalence of sanctity on earth, and the happiness of the righteous in heaven. Jesus calls disciples around him, and with them passes over the whole country, visiting the cities and the villages, teaching in the synagogues, spreading everywhere the good news of the kingdom. His word is received with transport. The people say that he instructs them, not after the manner of the Scribes and Pharisees, but as having a mission, and possessed of power ; they go up and down recounting his miracles and his marvels ; " he heals," they say, " the leprous, the paralytic, pardons sins, calms tempests, restores sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, expels demons, raises the dead." Sick people are brought to him, as he passes on, to be healed ; great multitudes press around him. In the midst of this general concourse, Jesus, nevertheless, encounters unbelievers and contradictors ; his principal adversaries are the Scribes and the Pharisees. In the number of un-

believers are the inhabitants of Nazareth, and his own family.

As representing sect interests as well as government interests, the Pharisees were enemies of every innovator ; sectists, they were annoyed that their doctrines were called in question ; as a governing aristocracy, they feared popular movements. The holiness of men of God did not shelter them from their vengeance ; some were slain or affixed to the cross by them ; others were beaten with rods, and pursued from city to city. Some Pharisees, sent by the heads of the priesthood, seek to ensnare Jesus, and make him lose his influence with the people ; they reproach him with not following the tradition of the ancients, and demand of him a sign from heaven to authorise his mission. Jesus accuses them of violating the commands of God, to observe the tradition of men, and recommends his disciples to guard themselves against their influence. At Nazareth, while teaching in the synagogue on a Sabbath day, the astonished crowd say, " whence hath this man this wisdom and these mighty works ? Is not this the carpenter's son ? Is not his mother called Mary ? and his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas ; and his sisters, are they not all with us ? whence then hath this man all these things ? " (Matt. xiii. 54 *seq.*) And he is for them an object of wonder first, and then of scandal. Nor does his family believe in him, his mother and his brothers say that he has lost his senses, and seek to seize his person (Mark iii. 21, 31-35 ; John vii. 3-5).

Meanwhile, he has chosen twelve apostles to aid him in his work, all men of the people, simple and without instruction ; one only, the tax-collector, Matthew, may be able to write. He enjoins on them, before all things to go neither among the nations (those that lived in the midst of the Jews) nor into the cities of the Samaritans, but rather to address themselves to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Fortified by their teacher's instructions, they traverse the land announcing the gospel, and healing diseases. The renown of Jesus increases day by day ; the populations ask who he is ; some reply, John the baptist, risen from the

dead ; others, Elijah the prophet, who has appeared, or some one of the ancient prophets. Soon the idea that he is the Messiah germinates and spreads. "Is he not he who is to come?" they ask and ask again. The crowd in their acclamations salute him as son of David, son of God.

As for himself, the name he gives himself is, that of Son of Man, a name which the prophet Ezekiel had assumed, but which a passage in Daniel seems to make a special designation of the Messiah. The moment comes when the destiny of Jesus is to be accomplished. The feast of the Passover is near. The Jews on this occasion repaired by hundreds of thousands into the holy city, as much from the lands over which they were scattered as from Judea. After having received from his disciples a recognition that he is the Christ, Jesus communicates to them the resolution he has formed of going to Jerusalem. He declares to them that those who are willing to follow him must deny themselves, take up their cross and follow him ; he who aims to save his life will lose it ; he who is willing to lose it for his sake will save his life.

The apostles do not doubt that the question at issue is to establish the kingdom of God, and by that phrase, they, like all the Jews, understand deliverance from the foreign oppression and the restoration of the throne of David. Already they see themselves admitted to share the fruits of the victory, and dispute one with another who shall have the first posts. Instructed by this rivalry, Jesus says to them that he who wishes to be the first must be the last, and the servant of all ; he enjoins on them humility and mutual love. From Galilee to Jerusalem, numerous crowds press on his steps. He enters into the holy city greeted by the acclamations of the multitude, who salute him with the title of Son of David. Universal excitement ensues. To those who, not knowing him, ask who he is, his escort replies : "It is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth in Galilee." He drives out of the temple the buyers and sellers who carry on their traffic there, and begins to instruct the people that are gathered around him. The high priests and the elders become disquieted, but without daring to seize him

for fear of the multitude ; they seek to embarrass him by their questions, in order to entrap him in his words. Pharisees and Herodians ask him whether or not it is right to pay tribute to Caesar, an insidious question which, whatever the answer, imperils the safety of Jesus in the mind of the Romans or in the mind of the Jews. If he replies in the negative, he will be denounced as seditious. If he declares that the tribute should be paid, his credit will be enfeebled among the people who expect from the Messiah the restoration of the national independence. Jesus sees the trap, and replies :—"Why do you tempt me ?" Then showing a denarius bearing the effigy of the Emperor, he says :—"Render to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's." The Romans cannot complain, for he recommends the payment of the tribute ; nor can the Jews, for they knew that by rendering to God what is God's they will obtain his favour for Israel, and be delivered from foreign despotism. It is specially against the scribes and Pharisees that the efforts of Jesus are directed. He warns the people against them ; he denounces their hypocrisy and their proud ostentation ; he reproaches them with turning men aside from the kingdom of heaven, with spoiling widows' houses, with perverting men's minds, with abandoning God's law for human traditions, with persecuting the prophets, the sages, and the teachers sent by heaven. Meanwhile the heads of the priesthood and the elders of the people form a conspiracy with Judas, who offers to deliver Jesus up to them for a sum of money. On the day when the Passover was eaten Jesus sends two of his disciples to make the necessary preparation in a house in Jerusalem. Thither he goes himself in the evening, and sits down to table with the twelve apostles. He presages that this will be his last meal. During supper he takes a loaf, blesses it, and breaking it, distributes it to his disciples, saying :—"Take and eat, this is my body." Then having taken the cup, he gives thanks, and says in handing it to them :—"Drink of it all, for this is my blood, the blood of the new covenant, which will be shed for many for remission of sins." And, he added :—"Do this in memory of me." This is the in-

stitution of the Eucharist reported by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul. Jesus, who is the victim of the New Covenant, as the Paschal lamb was the victim of the Old Covenant, calls the bread and the wine figuratively his flesh and his blood (Matt. xxvi. 26-28 ; Mark xiv. 22-24 ; Luke xx. 19-22 ; 1 Cor. xi. 24-25). The fourth gospel does not mention the supper ; but he also says that we must eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, expressions which the writer employs in an entirely spiritual manner (vi. 48-57, 64). After the supper Jesus retires to the Mount of Olives ; Judas alone does not accompany him. The master announces to his disciples that that very night he will be to them all an object of scandal. Peter, who seems the most resolute, will deny him three times before the time of cock-crow. Judas comes up, followed by a band of armed men, who lay hold on Jesus. The disciples take to flight ; Peter alone follows him at a distance into the outer court of the High Priest, where he thrice denies Jesus. Brought before the High Priest and the Council of the Elders, Jesus declares that he is the Christ, the Son of God. The utterance is pronounced blasphemy. He is pronounced worthy of death. Next morning he is placed before Pilate, accused of misleading the people, preventing tribute being paid to Caesar, and of calling himself King of the Jews. Questioned by the Procurator, Jesus avows himself King of Israel, but keeps silence on all else. Pilate, profiting by the practice of granting to the people the life of a malefactor at the Passover, seeks, but seeks in vain, to save Jesus. The people, driven on by the priests, demand the release of Barabbas, and the crucifixion of Jesus. He is beaten with rods, led to Calvary, and crucified between two thieves. Above his head they place the inscription :—" King of the Jews." The passers-by, the priests, the scribes, the elders, even the two thieves hurl at him insult and charges of blasphemy. Jesus remains silent. Finally, at the ninth hour, after six hours of suffering, he cries out with a loud voice :—" My God, my God, why hast thou abandoned me ?" He soon expires.

The gospel of Jesus does not decompose the unity of God.

With the exception of brief interpolations, there does not exist in the New Testament any trace of the Trinitarian conception. But an altogether new physiognomy is given to God. He is no longer the great and terrible God of Moses (Deut. x. 17), God of hosts, of battle, of vengeance and extermination. The God of the Gospel is a God full of goodness and indulgence ; he is wholly love, and asks of man the piety of a child, not the fear of a slave. The pneumatology, without offering the development which it will receive in posterior ages, has nevertheless more extension in the Gospel than in the Hebrew scriptures. Legions of angels are spoken of. Every child has his own guardian angel. In the day of judgment the angels will awaken the dead, and cast the wicked into a furnace of fire. The power and action of evil spirits are not less clearly presented. Satan is the prince of the demons ; he reigns over them in the kingdom of darkness ; he and his angels ceaselessly tempt humanity ; they enter human bodies, take possession of them, and can be expelled only by a certain divine virtue. Men divide into two classes ; there are children of God ; the rest are children of the devil.

In the three first Gospels, as well as in Paul's Epistles, Jesus is veritably a simple man, born of the race of David as to the flesh, but prophet and Christ, and consequently Son of God, as to the spirit, according to the Hebrew sense of that phrase. The fourth Gospel, which alone speaks of the incarnation of the Word, does not take from Jesus his human nature (viii. 40 ; xi. 35 ; xix. 28). The assimilation which it makes of him with the Word, and the name of only Son of God which it gives him, constitute a difference in the terms rather than in the substance of things. After the example of Philo, the author of the fourth Gospel makes use of the mystic phraseology of the orientals and the Platonicians. These are simple forms of style, figurative expressions, which it suffices to take back to their proper sense. We shall appreciate them afresh when we come to the time when this Gospel was published.

Jesus does not propose to destroy the law of Moses, but to accomplish and perfect it. That law had no sanction

but what was confined to this life. Its promises and its threats apply only to time. No assurance of another life for unfortunate virtue ; no fear of ulterior pains for triumphant vice ; no faith in an immortal soul, to raise to God man's thoughts and hopes. Without doubt, in the later ages, those ideas germinate in Jewish schools, and thence spread abroad. But those in admitting them, and these in rejecting them—all remained in the vagueness and uncertainty of individual opinions ; it was needful that the voice of a prophet should give them divine consecration.

This was the good news that Jesus came to announce, the good news of the kingdom of heaven, of the resurrection of the dead, of the eternal life of the just, of the reprobation of the wicked.

To this most important complement to the law of Moses, he added perfect developments of the moral life. Jesus explains on what conditions human beings will enter the kingdom of heaven. The discourse on the Mount contains in some way a summary of his teachings. He recommends lowliness of mind, mildness, compassion, purity of heart, the spirit of peace. To those who practise these virtues he promises the kingdom of heaven, the name of children of God, and the possession of the earth. He announces consolation for those that weep, plenitude of righteousness to those who hunger and thirst for it, and the kingdom of heaven to those who are persecuted on its account. On the other hand, those will not enter into that kingdom whose righteousness does not surpass that of the scribes and Pharisees.

The old law said—"Thou shalt not kill ;" the new adds, "Thou shalt not be angry or at enmity with thy brother."

The old law—"Thou shalt not commit adultery ;" the new—"He who looks on a woman with lustful eyes has already committed adultery in his heart."

The old law—"Thou shalt not send away thy wife without giving her a bill of repudiation ;" the new—"Thou shalt not repudiate her unless in case of adultery."

The old law—"Thou shalt not perjure thyself;" the new—"Swear not at all." The old law—"An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth;" the new—"To him who strikes thee on one cheek present the other." The old law—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy;" the new—"You shall love your enemies, you shall do them good, and you shall pray for them in order that you may be the sons of your heavenly Father." Jesus required that we should practise justice, almsgiving, prayer, fasting, without that noise and ostentation usual with hypocrites, but should act in silence and secrecy.

He forbids the accumulation of treasures, as well as disquiet about food and clothing. What we should seek for is the kingdom of God and its righteousness; all else that is needful will ensue. He bids us not to judge rashly, not to imitate the hypocrite who sees a small fault in his neighbour while guilty of a gross sin himself. "Do to others what you wish that they should do to you, for this is the substance of the law and the prophets."

But while Jesus sanctions and perfects the moral requirements of the law, he shews no respect for minute externalities, and specially for the superstitious traditions of the Pharisees. He declares that the Son of Man is master of the Sabbath; that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. His disciples are not restricted to fasts or abstinence from certain aliments; not, he says, "not that which enters a man defiles him, but that which comes out of him"—that is, bad thoughts which come from the heart. He warmly condemns tradition by which the Pharisees nullify the commands of God, as well as the human maxims and requirements which they put in the place of those commands. He recommends to his disciples, among other virtues, self-denial, patience under suffering, submission to the word which he teaches them, and by which they will be judged at the last day. He warns them to be ever ready, for the Son of Man will come at an hour when least expected; he will come in his majesty accompanied by the angels, and will sit on the throne of his glory to judge the nations assembled before him.

The death of Jesus disconcerted his disciples. Their hope and their faith revive under the idea of his resurrection and his ascension into heaven. Events of this nature were not without example in the Biblical Annals; more than once mention is made of life restored to the dead; Enoch was carried up alive; the same is said of Moses; Elijah ascended to heaven in a whirlwind of fire. Also the opinion of the apostles on the office of Christ is not modified by his death. The object of his mission is in their eyes still the same—it is constantly the restoration of the throne of David that they expect from the risen Jesus. When in the Acts they ask him if he will accomplish it soon, he replies that the Father reserves times and seasons to himself (Acts i. 6, 7), but as to them, after they have received the Holy Spirit, they are to bear witness to Christ in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the extremities of the land of Israel (8). On the approach of the Pentecost (Whitsuntide) the eleven are found together in Jerusalem. They remain in prayer with the women and Mary, his mother, and his brethren (14).

This mention of the mother of Jesus is the only one found in the Acts of the Apostles. The Epistles and the Apocalypse are absolutely silent in regard to Mary. All that is reported of her after the Pentecost, which follows the death of Jesus, comes from legends fabricated in posterior times. Matthias is selected to take the place of Judas.

On the day of Pentecost the Apostles, seized by the Holy Spirit, advance into the midst of the multitude, where are gathered Israelites from various lands, come up for the solemnities of the festival. Peter rises and bears witness that Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God by miracles and wonders and signs which God did by him, is the Messiah announced by David. God hath raised him from the dead, and invested him with power. By him the Holy Spirit has been shed on them according to the promise which he had received from his Father. Three thousand persons are baptised in the name of Jesus. Then the Apostles go into the temple to give testimony to the resur-

rection of Jesus. Five thousand Israelites embrace the new religion. Peter and John are, by the guardians of the temple, placed before the heads of the priesthood, the elders, and the scribes. The assembly, astonished at the constancy of those two unlettered men of the people, sends them away without punishment, after forbidding them to speak and teach in the name of Jesus. Shortly after the twelve apostles are again placed at the bar of the Council for the same cause. They are beaten with rods, and told to preach no more in the name of Jesus. None the less they continue to teach the good news in the temple and in private houses. The believers persist in the doctrine, in taking the supper, and in worship. They are all of one heart and one soul ; all things are in common with them.

A difference having arisen between the Hellenistic disciples and the Jews on occasion of the daily distributions, seven deacons or servants are elected for the service of the table, men of good repute, full of wisdom and zeal. Stephen the first of them abounds in virtue and grace. No one can withstand the spirit which speaks by his mouth. His adversaries, in their spite, suborn persons to accuse him of blasphemy. He appears before the council. False witnesses declare that he ceaselessly speaks against the temple and against the law. In his defence, Stephen reproaches the Jews with their hardness of heart and their attacks on "the just One." Then raising his eyes to heaven he exclaims, "I see the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." At these words the crowd utter loud cries of condemnation, close their ears, and, rushing on him, drag him out of the place and stone him. (An. 34 ; Acts vii.).

The death of Stephen becomes the signal of a general persecution. The believers spread abroad into different parts of Judea and Samaria. The apostles remain alone in Jerusalem. Philip, the deacon, carries the gospel to Samaria. In that city there was a man named Simon who had made himself notorious by means of magic. The deceived people pronounce him the great power of God. This man gets himself baptised in the name of Jesus, and attaches himself to Philip. Peter and John having come to

Samaria to communicate the Holy Spirit to the believers in that city, Simon offers the apostle a sum of money for the possession of the grace. He is reproved by Peter. Simon, however, does not appear to have been much moved by the rebuke. The legends relative to this person make him the great antagonist of Peter and the father of the Gnostics. He left behind him a sect which prolonged its existence in divers places until the third century. Justin Martyr says, that in his time (about 150) nearly all the Samaritans still regarded him as the first god and worshipped him as such.

The persecution at length (38) comes to an end, and the believers remain in peace in all Judea, Galilee, and Samaria. The Roman authorities which paid little attention to the religious differences of the Jews, left all to enjoy their opinions, provided they abstained from disputing and bringing the people together in the temple, the synagogues, or the city. The Nazarenes (as the disciples of Jesus were called in Judea) seem not to have been the object of any more annoyance down to the last days of the reign of Agrippa. (An. 44). Peter meanwhile passes over the whole land and visits the Nazarene communities. In one of his excursions, while at Joppa, in the house of one Simon the tanner, three men from Cæsarea came to seek for him on the part of a centurion of the Italian cohort, named Cornelius. Induced by a vision, Peter follows the messengers. Cornelius and his family are converted, and receive baptism in the name of Jesus the Christ. A report of this event reaches the ears of the community in Jerusalem. On the return of Peter to that city they rise against him, asking, "why didst thou enter the abodes of uncircumcised men and ate with them?" Peter reports the vision in which he had been taught, that no man whether Jew or Gentile, is as such unclean. The brethren are satisfied and glorify God. Whatever that narrative, the thought is not accepted by the apostles that their mission extends to the Gentiles. The conversion of Cornelius appears to them a special favour, and remains an insulated fact. It is to another that the call of the Gentiles is to be made clear. That work is reserved for Paul.

Known in Judea under the name of Saul, Paul came into existence in Tarsus in Cilicia. He was an Israelite of the tribe of Benjamin, and a Roman citizen by right of birth. Come to Jerusalem in the bosom of his family, he received instruction in the religion of his fathers in the school of Gamaliel, a Pharisaic doctor. His life was regulated according to the law of the land. His ardent spirit burned with zeal for the law. His vivid imagination made him inclined to visions and ecstasies. While yet young, he takes part in the murder of Stephen. It is at his feet that the witnesses deposit the martyr's clothes for their protection. Saul, like the rest, assented to Stephen's death. In the persecution that followed he distinguishes himself above the Jews of his own age, by his fervour for the national traditions. Under the authority of the High Priest he persecutes the Nazarenes, loads them with outrages, blasphemy in his mouth, and by force of torments, compels them also to blaspheme. Men and women are torn by him from their homes and thrown into prison. He causes them to be beaten with rods in the synagogues, and if a question of capital punishment arises, he votes in favour of condemnation.

Saul sets out for Damascus, provided with letters from the High Priest and the Council, with instructions to bring back prisoners all the Christians he might find there. He is already near the city, when of a sudden there bursts forth a celestial phenomenon which casts him and his companions to the ground. A voice which he hears, cries out to him, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus of Nazareth; do not kick against the goads." He rises totally dazed. He is led by his companions into Damascus. A disciple of that city, by name Ananias, baptises him in the name of Jesus Christ. Saul remains still some days in the country, and to the surprise of every one preaches in the Synagogues that Jesus is the Son of God. Then he retires into Arabia, to collect his thoughts in solitude and meditation. During three years that he passes there, revelations instruct him and build him up more and more in the faith of Jesus. Returning to Damascus, he bears his testimony, and confounds the Jews by his word. A conspiracy is

formed against him. Seconded by the governor who favours the plot, the Jews watch day and night at the gates of the city, intending to kill Saul. But by night the brethren put him in a basket, and through a window let him down the wall on the outside of the city. Proceeding to Jerusalem, he is introduced by Barnabas to the apostles. Peter, and James a brother of Jesus, are the only persons with whom Saul comes into contact. His sojourn in the holy city is not prolonged beyond a fortnight. One day when he was praying in the temple he falls into ecstasy and receives from Jesus an order to leave that part of the world where his testimony will not be received. He is sent to evangelise the Gentiles.

In fear of the Jews, who threaten to do him ill, the brethren conduct Saul to Cæsarea, whence he proceeds to Tarsus, his native place. He preaches in the neighbourhood, in the regions of Cilicia and Syria.

After Stephen's death, the disciples scattered abroad as far as Phenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, imitating the apostles, announced the Gospel to the children of Israel, and them alone. But among them there were certain Hellenistic Jews, in whom the sentiment of religious repulsion had been lessened doubtless owing to their anterior relations with the Gentiles. At Antioch those Hellenists, drawing near to the Greeks, preach to them the Gospel, and effect a great number of conversions.

Then the Jerusalem community sends into that city Barnabas, a Levite born in Cyprus. He, a witness of God's grace, rejoices therein; and his thought turning toward Saul, he goes to Tarsus to seek him and brings him to Antioch, where the two spend a whole year, and convert a multitude of persons. In this city the disciples take the name of Christians, a name given them by the Gentiles. In Judea they are still known as Nazarenes, and regarded as a sect of the Mosaic religion. Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, had obtained from the Emperor Caligula the tetrarchies possessed by his two uncles, Herod Antipas and Philip. On his accession, Claudius added thereto Judea and Samaria (41). The new king shews himself

hostile to the Nazarenes. James, the brother of Jesus, perishes by the sword. Peter is put in prison during the Passover, but he escapes in the night which precedes the day fixed for his punishment. Agrippa dies a short time after (44). Saul and Barnabas go into Judea to carry succour to the brethren sent by the disciples to Antioch (45). On their return they are accompanied by John, surnamed Mark. Sent on a mission by the Church of Antioch, they embark with Mark from Cyprus, traverse all that island and, arrived at Paphos, convert the proconsul Sergius Paulus, who resided in that city. The Roman name Paul is then substituted for the Hebrew Saul.

About the same time, the ravishment of the Apostle to the third heaven takes place. From that time he proceeds with a firm foot to perform his task, and more and more every day breaks down the barriers which keep other people out of the religion of Jesus. On leaving Cyprus, Paul and Barnabas repair to Perga in Pamphylia, where John and Mark separate from them. The reason is not mentioned by the Book of Acts, but the promptitude of the separation, and the remembrance of it preserved by Paul suggest some serious difference.

At Antioch in Pisidia, the apostles at first preach in the synagogue; then, the Jews opposing their teachings, they carry the Word of God to the Gentiles. A persecution, excited by the Jews, compels them to leave for Iconium. There the Christian faith is embraced by a crowd of Greeks and Jews. But those Jews who remain in unbelief succeed in dividing the multitude into two parts. The apostles are obliged to seek refuge in Lystra, a city of Lycaonia. There they spread the good news, as well as in all the neighbourhood. At first the people take them for gods hidden under a human form, and wish to immolate victims to them. But the Jews of Antioch and Iconium turn minds against them; Paul is stoned and dragged for dead beyond the city walls. Next day the Apostles set out for Derby, where they preach with fruit. Then they return to visit Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia, encouraging the disciples, and appointing elders in each church. Returning into Pam-

phylia, they take ship to go to Antioch in Syria, their point of departure. On their arrival, they report to the church the great things which they have accomplished by the grace of God, and how the door of the faith has been opened to the Gentiles. After their return, Paul and Barnabas remain some time among the disciples of Antioch. Meanwhile the twelve do not leave the Holy Land. On the death of Agrippa (44) the country returned under the administration of procurators. The persecution ceasing against the Nazarenes, Peter had been able to return to Jerusalem, and to live there in peace with all the others. The doctrine that Paul preached had been revealed to him by Jesus himself, and by Jesus himself alone. Down till then he had not placed it face to face with that of the primitive apostles. A particular circumstance made him feel the need of a conference.

Some Jews coming from Antioch taught the disciples that there was no salvation for them unless they were circumcised according to the law. Paul, without describing them in detail, speaks of them as false brethren, who wish to reduce the believers into servitude. He refuses to yield to their subjection, and maintains the truth of the Gospel. A revelation inspires him with the design of comparing his doctrine with that of the twelve. He sets out for Jerusalem with Barnabas and some others. On their journey they fill with joy the brethren of Phenicia and Samaria, to whom they recount their success among the nations. At Jerusalem some Pharisees maintain against them that it is necessary to circumcise the Gentiles, and to require them to observe the ceremonies of the law. The Apostles and the Elders come together to examine this question (51). The most considerable personages of the Assembly teach Paul nothing new; on the contrary, they acknowledge that the office of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles has been devolved on him, as to Peter is given the duty of preaching the gospel to the Jews. Seeing, then, the grace which Paul has received, James, Peter, and John, who seem to be columns of the Church, extend to him their hand as a token of association in the same work; Paul and Barnabas for the Gentiles,

the rest for the people of Israel. The only recommendation given to the apostles of the nations is to remember the poor, a recommendation which Paul never neglected (Gal. ii.). In regard to legal observances, they agree not to impose on the Gentiles a yoke which the children of Israel themselves have not been able to endure, and the council is satisfied with requiring that the Gentiles should abstain from food offered to idols, from blood, from strangled animals, and from fornication. These were the points exacted among the Jews from proselytes of the Gate. It was understood that this arrangement did not concern the Israelites ; the question was not even raised in regard to them. The difficulty was not settled absolutely in the conference of Jerusalem ; but in consideration that the Gentiles were not brought up in the doctrine and practice of the law, they are exempted from subjection thereto, except in some points which the Jews reserved equally for the proselytes of the Gate. This exemption appeared to the Nazarenes a matter of temporary toleration which left the Gentiles in a state of legal imperfection ; when the latter should have been fully instructed in the law, it would be a necessity for them to observe all its practices. On the contrary, in the eyes of Paul the exemption was definitive. Proceeding even further afterwards, he will teach that the law is abrogated, not only for the Gentiles, but also for the Jews, who accept the religion of Jesus ; the law has run its course, and must give way before the gospel, according to which there is no difference between the Jews and the Greeks, the circumcised and the uncircumcised. From what is said in the Jerusalem Conference, it very clearly results that at that time, eighteen years after the death of Jesus, the primitive apostles had not preached the gospel to any, except the centurion Cornelius, but descendants of Jacob, and they did not intend to preach it in future to any except to such. They were the Apostles of the Circumcision. None of them had been seen in Syria, at Antioch, or elsewhere, or in Cilicia, or in the isle of Cyprus, or in any other places where the gospel had been published by Paul and Barnabas ; none of them had pene-

trated into the different regions of Asia Minor, of Macedonia, of Achaia, where Paul will shortly be the first to go, in order to preach the Word of the Lord ; no one of them, finally, will have visited Rome when that apostle shall have been led thither in bonds. We may even add now, that none of them will set foot at any time whatever either in Rome, or in Greece, or in Asia Minor. If ever any one of the twelve quitted the land of Israel, of which there is no proof (except the visit of Peter to Antioch), it must have been to go into countries where Syriac was spoken, the only language known to those simple and unlettered men. If we look at the results obtained, we may be astonished that the mission of the twelve should be restricted to the Jewish people, while to Paul was given the whole apostolate to the Gentiles. But we must call to mind that the Jews were the people of God, and that they had received both the law and the promise of a Messiah. Accordingly Jesus was the minister of the good news among them, in order that God might be found truthful in the accomplishment of his promises (Rom. xv. 8). It is from pure compassion that the Gentiles were called afterwards (1). They were a wild olive tree grafted on the olive tree of God ; the Jews were the root and trunk of the tree on which the graft was planted (xi. 17, 18). The first apostles then continued the work of Jesus, and Paul was charged with a labour necessary in their eyes, namely, that of preaching to the Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas, returning to Antioch with Judas and Silas, communicate to the Christian society there the result of the Jerusalem Conference. Judas and Silas, both prophets, strengthen the brethren by their speeches. The first returns into Judea, while Silas remains at Antioch, where Paul and Barnabas continue to reside still some time. In the interval Peter pays a visit to the Christians of the district. Of the twelve he, according to appearance, was least indisposed to put himself into relations with the Gentiles. In the first days of his sojourn there he does not refuse to eat with the brethren converted from among them. But these favourable sentiments undergo a change from an unforeseen circumstance. Some

persons having come from James, Peter finds himself in an equivocal position. Whether from fear of reproaches similar to those he brought on himself by the conversion of Cornelius, or not to scandalise the envoys of James, he withdraws from the Gentiles, taking with him the other Jews in this dissimulation, and Barnabas himself. Paul then makes a public complaint and says to Peter, "If thou who art a Jew livest as do the Gentiles, why dost thou force the Gentiles to Judaize?"

Despite the Conference of Jerusalem the scruples of the Nazarenes still subsisted, and Peter, in wishing to manage the two parties, exposed himself by his variations to the remonstrances of both.

What was the effect of this scene at Antioch? How did Peter conduct himself afterwards? What ulterior relations had he with Paul? On these points we find no information in the Acts of the Apostles; they mention two journeys which Paul afterwards made to Jerusalem; but for one they limit themselves to the statement that he saluted the Church and went down to Antioch (Acts xviii. 22); they relate, for the other, his relations with James and all the elders, without any mention of Peter (xxi. 18). There is reason for believing that in Judea the Christian converts continued not to eat with the Gentiles, even though they were baptised in the name of Jesus; but otherwheres that repulsion does not seem to have persisted. According to "The Preaching and Travels of Peter," Nazarene works intercalated in the "Recognitions," that apostle abstained from eating with the non-baptised Gentiles, but after their baptism he treated them as co-religionists. Paul and Barnabas form the design of visiting the brethren of all the countries which they have already traversed. Then there arises a misunderstanding between them in connection with John, surnamed Mark. Barnabas wishes to associate Mark with Paul and himself. Paul refuses to take as a companion a man who had separated from them in Pamphylia. Each persisting in his opinion, the two apostles take different roads. Barnabas sails with John Mark to the island of Cyprus. Paul,

accompanied by Silas, traverses Syria and Cilicia, confirming the Churches and advising them to observe the decision of the apostles and the elders of Jerusalem.

Arrived at Lystra, he finds there a disciple named Timothy, the child of a Greek father and a Jewish mother, and of whom the brethren speak favourably. Resolved to attach him to himself, Paul first circumcises him, in order not to scandalise the Jews of the district who know that Timothy had a Greek father. Circumcision was in the eyes of the apostle a ceremony indifferent in itself. At Jerusalem he had combatted it in order to secure the liberty of the believers. That liberty acknowledged, he does not fear at Lystra to circumcise Timothy for another purpose. After traversing Phrygia and Galatia, Paul passes into Mysia and descends to the Troad, where he is led by a vision to visit Macedonia. He embarks with his companions, among whom appears the author of the Acts, who from this point speaks in the first person. At Philippi, a Roman colony, they find a home with Lydia, a seller of purple, and on the Sabbath go to an oratory which the Jews possess beyond the walls of the city, (Acts xvi. 12). After remaining there some time, some of the inhabitants seize Paul and Silas and take them before the magistrates, asserting that they are Jews who wish to introduce a manner of living which Romans cannot adopt. A mob forms itself, and the apostles are beaten with rods and lodged in prison. The next day officers bring an order for their release. Paul replies that they are Roman citizens, and that after having been publicly beaten with rods and put in prison, they will not go out secretly; let the magistrates come and set them at liberty. Those officials, alarmed at hearing that they are Roman citizens, hasten to excuse themselves and entreat them to quit the city. The Apostle and his friends make their way to Thessalonica, where they convert some Jews, a multitude of Greeks, and no few women of quality. During his sojourn in that place Paul labours night and day in order not to be a burden to the new converts. He who does not work, he says, ought not to eat. The Jews, irritated at his success, collect a number of the dregs of the

people and surround the house of Jason where Paul and Silas dwelt. Not finding them, the mob take Jason and some of the brethren and place them before the magistrates, accusing them of maintaining contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, that there exists another king, one Jesus. The magistrates take security of Jason and the others. In the night the brethren conduct Paul and Silas out of the city and direct them to Berea.

The Jews of that place "were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness, and searched the Scriptures daily whether these things were so. Therefore many of them believed ; also of honourable women which were Greeks, not a few," (Acts xvii. 11, seq.). "But when the Jews of Thessalonica learnt that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither and stirred up the people," (13). Silas and Timothy remain behind, while Paul is conducted by the brethren to the walls of Athens. The Apostle feels himself moved at the aspect of that idolatry ; he discusses in the synagogue with the Jews and the Proselytes, and in the public square with the persons whom he meets with. There is no lack of auditors. The Athenians and the foreigners who dwell among them pass all their time in hearing and reporting news ; Epicurean or Stoic philosophers come to confer with Paul. In the crowd some ask what this babbler has to say ; others believe that he brings with him new gods, because he announces Jesus and the resurrection. He is taken before the Areopagus, and asked what is the new doctrine that he publishes. In passing through the city Paul had read on an altar the words, *To the unknown God*. He declares that he comes in the name of the God whom they worship without knowing him. That God is the maker of heaven and earth. In Him we live, move, and are. As long as he confines himself to God as the creator and sovereign of the world he is heard in silence ; but as soon as he begins to speak of the resurrection of the dead, some mock, and others say, "on that matter we will hear thee some other time ?" The apostle then retires, after he is joined by some converts. Of this number is

Dionysius a member of the Areopagus and a woman named Damaris.

Uneasy as to the condition of the believers of Thessalonica, Paul had sent Timothy to exhort and strengthen them. Without waiting for the return of his disciple, he directs his steps to Corinth. In that town he comes upon a Jew born in Pontus, named Aquila, who sometime before had came from Italy with Priscilla his wife, in consequence of an edict issued by the emperor Claudius, commanding all Jews to quit Rome. This step had been taken because the members of that nation frequently excited in the city troubles under the impulse of a certain Chrestus. (Suet. Claud. 25). The resemblance of the name Chrestus to that of Christ has led some persons to suppose that Jewish Christians were meant. The opinion cannot be admitted. At this time the twelve limited themselves to preaching the gospel in Palestine to poor Jews who would be likely to retain both their repulsion for foreigners, and the expectation of the approaching return of Christ. The Christians who might be met with in other countries, Gentiles for the most part and in very small numbers, were doubtless of Paul's way of thinking. Now if his preaching produced among provincial Jews only slight impressions of which governors refused to take official notice, (Acts xviii. 15, 16) how could the word of some of his disciples have raised up in Rome troubles so grave as to lead the emperor to see the necessity of banishing all the Jews from the city? That expulsion must have been connected with other causes. An edict of the same nature had been published under the reign of Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 36). If nevertheless, contrary to all appearance, we hold that Aquila and Priscilla were Christians before they left Rome, they must have been initiated in the doctrine of Paul, whose faithful partisans they always shewed themselves. The apostle takes up his abode in their house and works with them. All the three were tent-makers. Paul provides for his wants by the labour of his hands at Corinth as at Thessalonica.

In the absence of Silas and Timothy, he preaches in the synagogue on the Sabbath Days. After their return he is

even more zealous in his demonstration that Jesus is the Christ. But he is contradicted by the Jews with blasphemous words. Paul replied :—"Your blood be upon your own heads ; I am clean ; henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles." He enters the house of Titus Justus, one who worshipped God, and whose house was contiguous to the synagogue. Crispus, chief of the synagogue, became a convert with all his family, also a great number of Corinthians. Timothy made satisfactory report of the brethren in Thessalonica. Imitators of the churches of Judea they had suffered at the hands of their fellow-citizens the same persecutions as those had suffered at the hands of the Jews ; by them the Word of God was spread into the two provinces of Macedonia and Achaia. Paul addresses to them a letter, in which he congratulates himself with them for the success of the preaching in their city, and gives them sage instructions and useful councils. Notwithstanding the animadversion of the Jews he continues to inhabit Corinth, encouraged by a nocturnal vision. There he writes a second letter to the Thessalonians, in order to fortify them against some among them who gave it out that the coming of Christ was at hand :—"The Lord," he said, "will not come before the apostacy takes place, and the man of sin, the son of perdition has appeared" (2 Thess. ii. 3). After a sojourn in Corinth of eighteen months, Paul is brought by the Jews before Gallio, proconsul of Achaia ; they accuse him of teaching men to worship God in a way contrary to the law. But the proconsul does not give him time to open his mouth ; seeing that the point at issue is about words and the Jewish law ; he refuses to enter into it, and bids them retire from his tribunal. The crowd seizes Sosthines, chief of the synagogue, and beats him before the Praetor, without the Proconsul's caring about the matter. Some time afterwards Paul bids adieu to the brethren. He has his hair cut at Cenchrea, on account of a vow he has made, and embarks for Syria with Aquila and Priscilla. They stop in Ephesus. The Apostle, after debating some time with the Jews of that city, continues his journey, promising to return.

He lands at Cesarea, goes up to Jerusalem, salutes the Church, and proceeds to Antioch, where he makes some stay ; he then sets out to visit Galatia and Phrygia.

In the absence of Paul, a Jew of Alexandria named Apollos, comes to Ephesus. He is eloquent, and versed in the Scriptures. He shews himself in the synagogue full of zeal for the doctrine of Christ, although having only John's baptism. Priscilla and Aquila, taking him into their own abode, carefully expound to him the way of the Lord. Then Apollos makes his way into Achaia, where his presence is of great use to the believers against the Jews. After traversing the high provinces of Asia Minor, Paul arrives at Ephesus (55). During three months he speaks freely in the synagogue. But afterwards, some of the Jews decrying his doctrine, he retires with his disciples, and every day he teaches in the school of one Tyrannus. This separate teaching lasts during two years ; all the inhabitants of the province of Asia, Jews and Greeks, hear the Word of the Lord. In the latter part of his sojourn, the Apostle is informed that seducers trouble the believers of Galatia, by preaching to them the necessity of circumcision, and other legal observances. Who these adversaries were we are not precisely told. But the vigour of the Epistle to the Galatians justifies the opinion that they had produced a pretty deep impression on them. They take pains to lower Paul as an apostle of the second order, and support themselves by the authority of the twelve in attempting to enforce legal practices. The Apostle, in his Epistle, reproaches the Galatians with deserting him to follow another gospel ; not indeed that properly speaking there is another, but there are people who wish to overthrow the Gospel of Christ. Paul pronounces anathema on whoever announces to them a Gospel different to his, were he even an angel from heaven. The Gospel that he has preached to them is not according to man ; he has received it not from man, but by revelation from Jesus Christ. He recounts his relations with the twelve ; the Jerusalem conference, in which, without teaching him anything, they gave their hand to him as the Apostle to the Gentiles, while Peter and the rest

exercised the Apostleship to the Jews ; he also refers to the visit to Antioch, when he spake against Peter—reproving him for not walking according to the truth of the Gospel. Will the Galatians return under the yoke of servitude ? Those seducers desire to make them submit to circumcision only that they may not be themselves persecuted for the cross of Christ, and to glorify themselves in the flesh of their disciples. Doubtless this epistle sufficed to retain the Galatians in the Apostle's doctrine. The influence of the Israelite exclusiveness was not to be much feared among the Gentiles ; they were of themselves little enough disposed in favour of circumcision and legal rites. But this difference between Paul and the Nazarenes threatened to degenerate into a schism. As a testimony of his friendly sentiments towards them, he orders that collections should be made in Galatia for the poor of the churches of Judea.

However, the Apostle sees that his work is accomplished in the regions of Asia Minor and Greece. The Holy Spirit bids him visit Rome and the western regions. But before quitting the Greek and Oriental world for the countries of the Latin tongue, he forms the design of again going over Macedonia and Achaia, and to visit Jerusalem for the last time. Independently of a desire to see his disciples again, diverse circumstances call him to Corinth. As in the case of the Galatians, the Christians of that city had been worked upon by Judaisers, who made use of the name and the authority of the twelve. Thence had arisen keen disagreements. Each took his side, saying :—"For me, I am a disciple of Paul ; for me, of Apollos ; for me, of Peter ; for me, of Christ" (1 Cor. i. 12). Not that Peter or Jesus had preached in the country, but there were in it doubtless persons who had heard them or their representatives in other places, or agitators who set Peter in opposition to Paul.

Moreover, Corinth was renowned for luxury and voluptuousness. The newly converted did not always succeed in walking straight in the Christian path ; there was many a relapse. Already in a previous journey Paul had uttered warnings and threats, if he one day returned, to be severe against transgressors, old and new (Cor. xiii. 2). In his intention

to remain still some time at Ephesus, he sends into Macedonia, Erastus and Timothy, who are to go forward to the Corinthians, to remind them of the ways of the Apostle. In his first letter to those people, he begs them to welcome Timothy, if he comes among them, and to send him back to Ephesus. He begs them to make a collection for the saints in Jerusalem, following in the steps of the churches of Galatia. After traversing Macedonia, he will visit their city, and he hopes even to pass the winter there. But his sojourn in Ephesus is to be prolonged until Pentecost. A wide door is opened to him ; many adversaries rise against him. Shortly after, a considerable trouble disturbs the way of the Lord in that city. A goldsmith, named Demetrius, who makes silver temples for Diana, collects all of his own profession, and states to them that Paul turns aside many persons from the divine worship in Ephesus, and in all the province of Asia, by preaching that the works of men's hands are not gods ; that thus their trade is about to fall into contempt, as well as the temple of Diana, and the majesty of that goddess worshipped all over the world. Furious cries arise in honour of the great Diana of the Ephesians. The city is full of tumult ; the crowd rush to the theatre—the place of public gatherings—carrying with it Gaius and Aristarchus, both Macedonians and disciples of Paul. Some chief men of Asia, friends of the Apostle, entreat him not to shew himself in the theatre. The greatest confusion reigns there ; most know not why they come together. A Jew, named Alexander, is taken from the crowd, and put forward by those of his nation. He demands silence, being disposed to address the people ; but he is recognised as a Jew, and the multitude for the space of two hours shout "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." After various efforts the assembly is dismissed. As a consequence of this event, Paul determines to leave Ephesus. He directs his steps toward Macedonia (Acts xix.). Before proceeding to Corinth, he desires to know what is the state of things in that city, what he had to hope or to fear. Titus had gone thither on his part. The Apostle expected to meet with him on the coasts of Asia Minor. He proceeds first to Troas,

and there preaches the Gospel with success. But his mind is not at ease. Titus does not come. Paul passes into Macedonia, traverses that province, and finds himself exposed to afflictions of all kinds. At last he is consoled by the arrival of Titus. His heart is rejoiced on learning that the Corinthians desire to see him again, the grief they have experienced, and their lively affection for him (2 Cor. ii. 6, 12, 13 ; vii. 5, 13-15).


The Churches of Macedonia having made their collections for the poor of Jerusalem, Paul writes his second letter to the Corinthians in order to incline those who are zealous and more wealthy than the Macedonians to contribute abundantly. He despatches to them in advance Titus and two other brethren, of whom one, celebrated by the gospel in all the Churches, has been appointed by them, together with Paul, to carry the result to those whom it was intended to succour. The persons who endeavoured to depreciate the apostle in Corinth, alleged that in truth his Epistles were grave and forcible, but that, when present, he seemed insignificant in his person and weak in his speeches. Paul replies that he shews himself in his acts such as in his letters. He does not boast of others' labours, but he hopes that, their faith continually increasing, he will have reason to glory in them who have been instructed according to his rule. He proposes also to teach his gospel to the people who are beyond them, without taking credit in things prepared according to the rule of another (x. 10, 14-16). As in the Epistle to the Galatians he vindicates his character, his labours, his visions, not from vanity, but to give force and authority to his words. He considers himself no way inferior to the greatest of the apostles ; if he lacks ability in speech, he does not lack knowledge (xi. 5, 6). He is an Israelite as they, but a minister of Christ more than they ; he enumerates his afflictions and sufferings, his cares, his labours, his revelations, his ravishment up into the third heaven (xi. 23, 33).

The attacks directed against his doctrine in Galatia and Corinth were for Paul a lively subject of sorrow and dis-

quiet. Whoever are the authors, he cannot conceal from himself that he has gone far beyond the concessions obtained in the Jerusalem Conference. The Nazarene community of that city, a veritable Jewish sect, strictly practised the observances of the Hebrew law ; in their eyes there are two different peoples under the standard of the cross—the holy nation of Jews, for whom the Messiah has been sent, and the Gentiles, who are admitted by grace, so to say, and as proselytes of the Gate. According to Paul, on the contrary, Jesus is the Messiah of the whole human race, Jews and Gentiles, forming one sole people, are united by faith. Circumcision and the other legal practices have in themselves no moral value. There exists a real difference, but on the part of Paul no intention to come to a rupture with the Nazarenes. This apostle, to whom alone the mystery of the call of the Gentiles has been made known, can understand the prejudices and religious scruples of simple and uncultivated men. It would be a great mistake to suppose him animated by a hostile spirit towards them, and to place him in some way as in direct opposition to them, as a Luther burning the bulls of the Court of Rome. Notwithstanding his veracity in self-defence, his epistles and his conduct contradict such an appreciation. Paul goes then into Achaia, where he tarries three entire months. At the approach of Spring he arranges his departure and forms the resolution to return through Macedonia, fearing the Jews, who lay snares to entrap him on the shores of Greece (59).

Before quitting Corinth, he writes to the Christians that are at Rome to acquaint them with his speedy arrival.

Who were those Christians at Rome ? Had the gospel been already preached there ? At what date and by whom ? Notwithstanding the existence of Christians in that city, it had been visited by no apostle. The first proof of the fact is found in the long and vivid desire which Paul expresses to visit Rome, that he may reap there some fruit, as among the other nations (Rom. i. 13). Now, it is well known that he always took care not to teach the gospel in places where the name of Christ had been made



known by another, not wishing to build on another man's foundation. He declares this in his Epistle to the Romans (xv. 20), as he had already done in his letters to the believers of Corinth. He desires, he also says, to strengthen the Christians of Rome by communicating to them some spiritual grace, and consoles himself in them by that faith which is altogether theirs and his (i. 11, 12). If you cast your eyes on the salutations of the Epistle, you see that they are specially addressed to persons instructed in the apostle's doctrine; it is Phebe, deaconess of the Church of Cenchrea; they are Aquila and Priscilla, with whom he abode in Corinth and in Ephesus; Epenetes, the first fruit of the province of Asia; Andronicus and Junia, relatives of Paul and his companions in captivity; Herodion, his relative; Amplias, whom he loves tenderly in the Lord; Urbane, who has seconded him in the work of Jesus; Stachys, whom he cherishes; Rufus, the elect of the Lord, and his mother, whom Paul regards as his own; Apollos, full of faith; Aristobulus, Hermas, &c.,—all Christians of ancient date, Paul's friends, and some without doubt sent before him, according to his custom, to prepare his way. The apostle taught the gospel during more than twenty years among the nations of Syria, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and the islands. Is it not surprising that there is in Rome a church inaugurated by a certain number of his disciples who came from so many different lands, Greek and Jewish? It is to Christians formed according to his rule that he sends his letter; accordingly he takes care to recommend to them, as he has already done for the other Churches, to avoid people who cause disagreements and scandals against the doctrine which they have learnt; and he ends by rendering honour and glory to God, who can, he says to them, strengthen you in my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ (xvi. 17, 25-27). Is it necessary to add that on his arrival in Rome the Jews of that city will declare to the apostle that the word of Jesus has not been taught to them by any one, that they know only that it is combatted everywhere (Acts xxviii. 21). Paul reminds the Romans that

he has carried the gospel into all the countries which extend from Jerusalem to Illyrium; it is this wide field of labour which, despite his desire, has hindered him from visiting them up to that time, but he has no longer any reason for remaining in those countries. When he shall go into Spain, he hopes to see them on his way and remain some time with them. He must first return to Jerusalem for the service of the saints, to whom he will carry the collections made in Macedonia and Achaia. This duty accomplished, he will pass into Spain through Rome. The apostle had serious fears as to the issue of his visit to Jerusalem. What reception would he meet with there? What fate awaited him? On all sides the Jews rose against him in Asia Minor and in Greece. Did the Nazarenes also attack his doctrine? What effect would be produced in Jerusalem by the accusations of some and the complaints of others? What had he not to fear from the priests, the Pharisees, the Saducees? Would all the Nazarenes consent to communicate with him? A prey to these thoughts, he conjures the Christians of Rome to ask of God in their prayers that He would deliver him from the infidels that are in Judea, and that the offering which he is about to make may be well received by the saints in Jerusalem. The same anxieties will accompany him throughout his journey. He will go to Jerusalem, being bound by the Spirit, without knowing what will befall him there; but the Holy Spirit will let him know everywhere on his journey that chains and afflictions are reserved for him in that city.

Several disciples had entered on the journey and waited for the apostle at Troas. These were Sopater of Berea and of the Thessalonians Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius and Timotheus of Derbe; and of Asia Tychicus and Trophimus. Titus, Luke, and another brother had remained with Paul at Corinth. Disciples of Achaia also had doubtless resolved to follow him to Jerusalem.

The apostle and his companions set out from Philippi after Easter, and proceed to join the others at Troas. Thence they land successively at Asson, Mitylene, Chios,

Samos, Miletus. Paul had resolved not to stop at Ephesus; he studies despatch, wishing to celebrate Whitsuntide at Jerusalem. On his request, the elders of Ephesus go to Miletus. He reminds them how he had acted towards them during three years that he had, day and night, taught them the gospel; his hands have alone provided for his wants; he now goes to Jerusalem, where chains and afflictions await him. He knows that he shall see their face no more. He exhorts the elders to watch ceaselessly over the flock entrusted to their care; ravaging wolves will come who will not spare the flock, and even in their own bosom there will rise men who will publish perverse doctrines in order to gain disciples.

The Ephesians burst into tears and throw themselves on the apostle's neck, specially afflicted that he had said that they would see his face no more. Paul and his disciples then touch at Cos, at Rhodes, at Patara, and sail toward Phenicia. The brethren at Tyre seek in vain to dissuade him from going to Jerusalem. At Cæsarea the travellers lodge with Philip, the deacon, who had four virgin daughters that were prophetesses. On their departure, they are accompanied by Christians of Cæsarea, among others, an old disciple of Cyprus, named Mnason, at whose house they were all to stay in Jerusalem. The brethren of that city received them with joy. The next day Paul and his disciples repair to the abode of James, where all the elders assemble. The apostle recounts to them in detail the things which had been accomplished by his ministry in the midst of the nations. Thereupon, they glorify God, and say, to Paul: "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous for the law, and they are informed that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying, that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. What then is to be done? They will meet together when they hear that thou hast come" (Acts xxi. 17 seq.). James and the elders advise him then to purify himself with four brethren of Jerusalem who were under a vow. All will know by that, that what is said of

him is false, and that he still observes the law. "As to the Gentiles who believe," they continue, "we have written and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled animals, and from fornication" (25). The ceremony proposed to Paul was a thing without importance in his eyes, and he held, that in such a case, care should be taken not to scandalise the brethren. (1 Cor. viii. 8-13.) He then yields to the ceremony.

But near the end of the seven days, Jews from the province of Asia, having seen Paul in the temple, stir up the people and seize him. They accuse him with everywhere teaching doctrines contrary to the people, the law, the holy place; with profaning the temple by introducing Greeks into it; in the city they had seen Trophimus of Ephesus with him, and they suppose that he has introduced him into the temple. Excitement ensues. A mob is formed. Paul is dragged out of the holy place, the gates of which are forthwith closed. The commander of the Roman soldiers, informed of the tumult, comes up with soldiers. At the sight of them, the assailants cease to strike the apostle. The commander has him put into chains, and asks who he is, and what he has done. Confused cries are raised by the multitude. Unable to ascertain what the facts are, the tribune orders his men to take Paul into the fortress. The soldiers, owing to the violence of the populace, are compelled to carry the apostle. Shouts arise demanding his death. On the point of entering the fortress, Paul obtains liberty to speak. After stating to the Jews his origin and manner of life among them, he narrates his journey to Damascus, his miraculous conversion, the revelations he had received. He is listened to until he says that Jesus appeared to him in the temple and sent him to the Gentiles. Then the Jews cry out, "Death to the wretch; he is unfit to live!" (Acts xxii. 22). They shout, they cast off their clothes, they throw dust into the air. In the fortress, the chief captain orders him to be examined by torture. The victim escapes by announcing himself a Roman citizen. The next day the priests and council come together. Paul is brought before

them. Knowing that there are among them Sadducees and Pharisees, he proceeds to say : " Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee ; of the resurrection of the dead I am called in question." The Sadducees, as we have seen, denied the resurrection as well as the existence of angels and spirits, while all these points were admitted by the Pharisees. Then arises a tumult. The officer fearing that Paul would be torn in pieces, orders him to be removed and placed in the fortress. The following night, the Lord declares to the apostle in a vision, that he shall give his testimony in Rome as well as in Jerusalem. The Jews form a conspiracy against his life. Paul is informed of the first by his sister's son, whom he sends to the tribune. The latter, fearing they would carry off his prisoner, sends him under an escort to Cæsarea, informing the governor, Felix, that the matter at issue concerns the religion of the Jews, but in no way deserves either death or imprisonment. The Jews resolve to go and uphold their cause at his tribunal. Five days after the high priest arrives with some elders and a pleader named Tertullus. They accuse Paul with everywhere sowing the seeds of trouble and division among the Jews, with being the head of the seditious heresy of the Nazarenes, of having profaned the temple. The accused replies that he has been in Jerusalem only twelve days, that he has not been found disputing with any one, or collecting a crowd. In truth, he serves the God of his fathers according to that sect which his accusers call a heresy, but none the less does he believe in whatever is written in the law and the prophets. He is come, after many years of absence, to bring alms to his nation, and to present to God his offerings and prayers. He was found in the temple without crowd or tumult by some Jews of the province of Asia, who ought to have appeared in the court if they had any accusation against him.

Felix, who sees the nature of the affair, declares that he will occupy himself with it when the tribune shall have returned to Cæsarea. He, however, orders the centurion to guard Paul with less vigour, and to allow him to communicate with his friends. He hoped to have received money

from him, and often had him brought before him and conversed with him. At the end of two years (61), Porcius Festus succeeds Felix, who, to please the Jews, leaves Paul in chains, at his departure. Festus shortly after proceeds to Jerusalem. The heads of the priesthood and the chiefs of the Jews speak to him against Paul. He bids them come and accuse him at Cæsarea. On the return of Festus the apostle is brought before his tribunal where the Jews put forward several charges which they are unable to justify. Paul defends himself by alleging that he has done nothing contrary to the law, or contrary to the temple, or contrary to Cæsar. The governor asks him if he is willing to stand his trial in Jerusalem. "I am," says the captive, "before the tribunal of Cæsar, and there I ought to be tried. None can deliver me to the Jews. I appeal to Cæsar." Festus, under the advice of his council, replies, "Thou hast appealed to Cæsar, to Cæsar shalt thou go" (Acts xxv.). Paul with some other prisoners, under a centurion named Julius, is put on shipboard for Rome. They touch at Sidon where the apostle is allowed to see his friends and provide for his wants. At Lystra the centurion transfers those under his care to an Alexandrine vessel, bound for Italy. After a tardy navigation they reach Crete, intending to winter in Phenice. But a blast of wind carried the ship out into the high sea. Assailed by a violent tempest, he, at the end of fourteen days, is shipwrecked in view of the Island of Malta. The passengers save themselves by swimming or on planks.

After wintering there for three months, they go on board an Alexandrine vessel (62) touch at Syracuse, at Rhegium, and finally at Puteoli, where they are detained by the brethren for seven days. Thence they set out for Rome. Brethren from the capital come forth to meet them; some as far as the Forum of Appius (40 miles from Rome) others as far as The Three Taverns (30 miles). Paul on seeing them returns thanks to God and feels himself full of a generous confidence. In Rome he is allowed to dwell in his own hired house under a soldier's guard.

The first care of the apostle is to put himself in relations

with the Jews of the city. The principal persons of them are brought together the third day after his arrival. Paul begins to justify himself under the fear that they have been prejudiced against him ; but they had received from Jerusalem no communication respecting him ; no one had said any harm of him. They ask him to communicate to them his opinions. All that they know of the sect of Nazarenes is that it is everywhere spoken against (Acts xxviii. 22). A testimony so precise does not admit that any of the twelve had preached the gospel in Rome. If any apostle of the circumcision had been there, it is to the Israelites he would have addressed himself and not to the Gentiles. On a fixed day the Jews in great number repair to the abode of Paul, who preaches to them the kingdom of God, and from morning till evening endeavours to convince them by the law and the prophets that Jesus is the Christ. Some believe, others do not, they cannot agree. Then Paul declares unto them that the salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles and that they will accept it. The Jews retire engaged in dispute (Acts xxviii.). In the earlier part of Paul's sojourn in the capital, the martyrdom of James, the Lord's brother, and one of the columns of the church in Jerusalem, is placed. The Jews had availed themselves of the interval which passed between the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor, to exercise a persecution against the Nazarenes, in which that apostle lost his life. Paul remained two years in Rome. He receives in his house those who come to see him, and preaches in full liberty the kingdom of God and the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Beyond this *the Book of Acts* does not go. It is silent respecting the lot of the prisoner after those two years (64). Among the Epistles of Paul there is one, the second to Timothy, several passages of which seem to deserve serious attention in an historical point of view. They relate divers facts which, from error in my judgment, have been ascribed either to the sole sojourn of Paul in Rome or to a second captivity which he afterwards underwent and which was terminated by his death. That second captivity does not appear established on any foundation, and it is not in Rome that

Paul found death. On this twofold hypothesis the epistle is all but inexplicable. On the contrary everything becomes clear and natural if it is admitted it was written during the sole captivity in Rome, and that the facts of which it speaks took place not in that city, but during the detention of the apostle in Cæsarea.

Let us first remark that it is not seen in the Acts that Timothy embarked with Paul when the latter was conducted into Italy; nothing shews that he was by Paul's side on that occasion. The apostle, who enjoyed a certain toleration at Cæsarea, did certainly not remain there two entire years without communicating with his disciples of the Hellenic lands, and specially with those of Ephesus. That city was the principal of the Christian establishments in Asia Minor; it is by Jews of the province of Asia, of which it was the capital, that the accusation against Paul had been raised (Acts xxi. 27). Defections had taken place among the disciples of that same province (2 Tim. i. 15). It was necessary to strengthen men's minds there. No one was more fit for the work than Timothy who had already fulfilled the functions of supervision at Ephesus. There is then no unlikelihood in supposing that Paul had sent him thither during his captivity in Cæsarea, and their separation did not take place in such circumstances without the disciples' shedding tears, the recollection of which the epistle consecrates (i. 4). The commission given by Paul to Timothy to bring with him the cloak which the former had left at Troas, demonstrates moreover that Timothy was then either in Ephesus or in some other city of the same region.

Arrived at Rome, where he lives in a kind of half liberty, the apostle sends Tychicus to Ephesus to inform the brethren of the condition in which he finds himself, and to console them by his reports, (Ephes. vi. 21, 22). At the same time he writes to Timothy to direct the disciple to come to him his master. "Make haste," he says, "to come before the winter," (2 Tim. iv., 21). Paul being at Rome since the beginning of spring, the Epistle may have been despatched during the same season or the following one. The apostle mentions in it anterior facts, either to put Timothy

on his guard against certain men, or to give vent to the bitterness of his soul, or to inform his disciple of particulars which he could not know. Thus Paul designates Hymeneus and Philetus, who have departed from the truth, in saying that the resurrection has already taken place, and have disturbed the faith of some, (ii. 17, 18). Thus also he mentions that all those who are in the province of Asia, have deserted him, among others, Phrygellus and Hermogenes, (i. 15).

Further on, he warns Timothy against "Alexander the coppersmith, who did me much evil, and withstood my words," (iv. 14, 15). Alexander, it will be remembered, was a Jew of Ephesus, whom his fellow religionists had put forward at the time of the tumult excited by Demetrius (Acts xix. 33). Now the signal of the persecution which Paul had to endure at Jerusalem, had been given by the Jews of the province of Asia, who had seized him in the temple. Among them may have figured this same Alexander, the mention of whom in the Epistle (2 Tim. iv. 14, 15) is connected with that of Paul's first defence, (16). It is in effect after having mentioned Alexander that the apostle adds, "at my first answer no one stood with me, but all forsook me; may it not be laid to their charge; notwithstanding the Lord stood with me and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion." What is that first defence of which the apostle speaks? In the legendary hypothesis which makes Paul die in Rome, it has been imagined to explain this passage, that the apostle appeared twice before the imperial tribunal which the first time acquitted him and condemned him the second. This theory which rests on no text, is devoid of all probability. If in reality the captive had been called to appear before Cæsar, whether twice or once, would not Luke have spoken of it? In the Acts of the Apostles it is clearly seen that Paul really appeared as an accused person twice during his captivity; but it is in Cæsarea not in Rome. He first defended himself before Felix against the high priest and the elders of Jerusalem,

and at a later time before Festus who placed him under the necessity of appealing to Cæsar, so that he might not be delivered to the Jews. In his first defence Paul was abandoned by all the world, whether the disciples of the province of Asia who were in Palestine, or by the brethren of the land, or by the community of Jerusalem presided over by James. That community, full of suspicion and reserve, had required public pledges of his faith; no indication shews that it assisted Paul before Felix, nor that it had any relation with the prisoner during all the time of his sojourn in Cæsarea. "The Lord," says the apostles, "supported me and I was delivered from the mouth of the lion." That threatening lion was the Jewish priesthood who pursued him to the utmost and by all possible means. Paul escaped from that priesthood by divine aid, so that he was able (he says) to finish his preaching and that the gospel might be heard by all peoples. At the moment when he writes the apostle seems no longer to have any disquietude. At Rome in truth he had nothing to fear, and he was not unaware of what would come when he appealed to Cæsar. As soon as he was under the guard of a Roman soldier, he enjoyed great liberty of action in that city, and preached the kingdom of God without obstacle. The indifference of the Romans, nay, their contempt for the strife which he had with the Jews touching the law of Moses, put him under shelter against all real danger. Down even to the circumstance of the books and parchments left at Troas with Carpus, (iv. 13), everything is explained by this hypothesis. When Paul went for the last time from Corinth to Jerusalem, he really passed through Troas, and stopped there seven days (Acts xx. 5, 6). There he deposited his books warned by the Holy Spirit that great afflictions awaited him among the Jews. The second Epistle to Timothy moreover contains divers intimations touching some of Paul's co-workers; Luke alone is with him; his other disciples are dispersed in several countries for different reasons. Demas has deserted him for the love of the world, and has gone to Thessalonica. Titus is in Dalmatia, Crescens in Galatia, (perhaps Cisalpine Gaul), Erastus is in Corinth, Trophimus has been left sick

in Miletus. It is this remoteness of most of his auxiliaries that makes him strongly desire the presence of Timothy ; that he should hasten to come before winter, that he should take and bring with him Mark, who is useful to the apostle in his ministry. Paul has the greater need of their aid in Rome because he is already aged, and because after having fought bravely and finished his career, he sees the moment of his deliverance approach, (2 Tim. iv. 6-8). Here the documents furnished by Scripture on times anterior to the capture of Jerusalem come to an end. What became of Paul after this two years' sojourn in Rome ? If he had been tried, condemned, and executed, as the legends represent, how can we understand that the author of the Acts, who was by his side, should not have completed his work by narrating all the circumstances of such an event ? How reconcile this dark issue of the trial with Agrippa's words in Cæsarea, that it would have been possible to dismiss him, if he had not appealed to Cæsar, with the regards of which he is the object during his voyage, with a nearly nominal captivity in Rome, which allows him to live in a house of his own where he receives his visitors and preaches the kingdom of God and the doctrine of Christ freely and in all confidence ? Evidently the hypothesis of his liberation is the only one that can be admitted. If he was retained so long in Rome the reason is that he was sent thither under an accusation, and that it was necessary that he should wait until his accusers came to justify it at the bar of the emperor ; but the heads of the priesthood and the elders of Judea, who persecuted Paul, must have felt that their cause had not the least chance of success, and they had no desire to undertake the distant journey. At the end of two years it would appear so much the more desirable to release the accused as already all Judea was in fermentation, and that on both sides everything was being prepared for the terrible war which terminated in the taking and destruction of Jerusalem.

Whither went Paul after regaining his freedom ? At what time, in what place, was he put to death ? In regard to these questions there exists but one piece of information

worthy of confidence. In the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians (5) "Paul," it says, "obtained the prize of patience ; after having been in chains seven times, after having been beaten with rods, after having preached in the east and in the west, and taught righteousness all over the earth. Finally, having gone to *the extremity of the west*, he suffered martyrdom under the governors." The Apostle, then become free, put into execution his primitive design of preaching the Gospel in Spain, and in that country he was put to death by the civil authorities. The terms "having gone to the extremity of the west," do not allow us to suppose that he received death in Rome. That city has never been considered as the western extremity of the Roman world. It was its centre ; a fact which must have been known to the author of the epistle, who dwelt within its walls. The resolution which Paul had long cherished of going into Spain, agrees with the expressions of Clement to demonstrate that he died in that country, the true extremity of the west. Doubtless he repaired thither as soon as he could. It was this country that he had specially in view at his departure from the Hellenic lands. He intended to stay in Rome only a certain time, and then to pass on into Spain (Rom. xv. 24, 28).

Did his preaching in that country last some time ? Did the governors put an end to him at the outset ? No answer can be given to these questions. What disciples did Paul take with him on this his last mission ? What after became of his habitual fellow-workers, Luke, Timothy, Titus, &c. On all these points there rests absolute silence, unless you prefer legends and popular stories for certain truths.

The same epistle of Clement mentions also Peter in these terms : "Peter suffered not once or twice, but several times, and having thus finished his martyrdom, he departed into the place of glory due to him." But neither in this epistle nor in any writing of the first century do we find the slightest indication as to the place, the nature, and the exact time of his death. According to tradition, Peter, while Jesus was yet alive, was in the maturity of age, older

than the son of Joseph. If he still existed at the time when the book of Acts comes to an end (64), he would be a septuagenarian. The last time that Scripture speaks of him is in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, about the year 58 (i. 12 ; ix. 5). Only in writings posterior to the middle of the second century, does there begin to appear any question of Peter's sojourn in Rome. In the chapter on fables and legends, we shall inquire what may have been the origin of the tradition which places Peter in that city to die there with Paul, under the orders of Nero. But it is proper to mention here that the persecution attributed to that Emperor has all the appearance of an historical error, notwithstanding the testimony of Tacitus and Suetonius. The latter restricts himself to the statement that Nero put to death Christians, a sort of men infatuated with a new and dangerous superstition. Tacitus gives more details. According to him, the severities were exercised as a consequence of the conflagration of Rome in the year 64. Defamatory reports ascribed it to the Emperor :—"To turn them aside, Nero sought after the guilty, and inflicted the most cruel torments on a people hated for their misdeeds, and which were commonly called Christians. Those were first seized who avowed themselves Christians, and then, on their depositions, an immense multitude who were less convicted of setting Rome on fire than of hating the human race. They were wrapped in the skins of beasts to be devoured by dogs ; they were crucified ; or their bodies were covered over with resin, and at the fall of day, they were set on fire as torches for the night. Nero offered his own gardens for this kind of spectacle." Tacitus and Suetonius speak of Christians as in Rome, it might be at the time when they write (about 120 A.D.). It was not the same in the time of Nero (54-68). The preachers of the Gospel had then nothing to fear, if not on the part of the Jews. On the contrary, the Roman authority protected them against the violence of the latter. In the countries of Asia and Greece, where Christianity at first spread, people had not ceased to regard it as a Jewish sect. At Rome, Paul, a captive, and under supervision, had preached the Gospel

two years without let or hindrance. The few disciples which he found there on his arrival, added to the proselytes whom he made during his sojourn, could form only a very small church, lost from view in the bosom of the capital. The name Christians was no doubt unknown to the magistrates as much as to the people. It is only in the time of Trajan (98-117) that they begin to be distinguished from the Jews, and subjected in divers provinces, to special and regular prosecutions. Nevertheless, we do not say that Nero did not commit cruelties on unfortunate persons whom he wished to pass off as authors of the conflagration. But how could he have thought of choosing for the purpose the Christians, of whom perhaps he had never heard any one speak? What likelihood with the people of Rome would an accusation have which was directed against unknown persons, and who could be actuated by no motive of hate or vengeance? It is easier to understand that to turn aside suspicion from himself, Nero imputed the conflagration to the Jews. Their nation was then at war with the Romans, and generally odious. The idea of vengeance on their part would appear quite natural. On this hypothesis some Christians of Jewish birth might doubtless have been put to death, but as Jews, and not as Christians. In regard to the eleven colleagues of Peter in the apostolate, the New Testament relates only the small number of circumstances of which we have made mention; and beyond the covers of the New Testament, we find neither in their life nor on their death, any information in which the least value can be recognised.

The obscurity which envelopes the last years of the twelve can be easily understood if attention is given to the fact that the Acts take us to the approach of the exterminating war which set Judea in extreme confusion and distress from the year 65 to the year 70.

In the last year Jerusalem was taken and destroyed, after a siege which, according to the historian Josephus, brought death on eleven hundred thousand Jews and left in the hands of the conqueror ninety thousand who were sold into slavery. The war was prolonged till the year 73;

and the number of Jews who lost their lives is carried up to thirteen hundred thousand. In all probability those apostles who survived till then perished during that long torture without leaving any trace of their fate.

Before entering on the times posterior to the capture of Jerusalem we must sum up the doctrines which the apostles, and Paul in particular, had spread abroad in the world. In seeing what Christianity was before the disasters of Judæa we shall find it more easy to appreciate the transformations which it underwent in the Gentile world, where it soon had imprinted upon it ideas, beliefs, and customs derived from the peoples by whom it was received and assimilated.*

The twelve apostles differ not from the rest of the Jews except in what concerns the moral teaching and the Messiahship of Jesus. Although he had said to them that the Son of Man is master of the Sabbath, that is of Mosaism, they did not consider themselves as charged with introducing the least change. On the contrary they, as well as their disciples, are very zealous for the observance of the law. Only to the great zeal they unite belief in the resurrection of Christ and in his approaching re-appearance. Jesus, however, is with them always the Jewish Messiah, having for his mission the re-establishment of the kingdom of Israel. Accordingly they cannot understand the accession of the Gentiles, and however great the number of the converts, they consider them only as proselytes of the Gate, to whom a certain indulgence for the practice of the law might indeed be conceded, but who became perfect only by conforming to all its prescriptions. Those apostles, it must not be forgotten, thought that they had no mission but for the conversion of the Jews ; their propagandism does not appear to have been much carried on beyond the boundaries of Judæa. They announce the Messiahship of Jesus, his resurrection, his speedy return, and endeavour to show the conformity of all these things with the Sacred Scripture. Their greatest successes were without doubt obtained in the

* Compare " *Les Transformations*," by Athanase Coquerel.

multitudes who had faith in Christ while he was alive. Paul alone knew the mystery of the call of the Gentiles ; alone he is charged with the apostolate of the nations. His doctrine must be carefully examined. The Acts of the Apostles and his Epistles contain the principles of his own gospel, the new religion which he brings to the world. Their comparison with the Mosaic law will throw into relief the points of divergence, what changes the apostle introduced into that law so as to cause it to be accepted by other peoples, and in what proportion under his inspired word, the figure of the Israelite Messiah was aggrandised.

The God whom Paul announces to the nations is no other than the *One God* of Moses. But following Jesus in the gospel he sets him forth principally under a character of goodness and indulgence. With Paul you find no trace of the Trinitarian idea ; he would have thought it a profanation to entertain the conception, a blasphemy to announce it. No more does Paul speak of the Word and his incarnation ; this is a theory peculiar to the Fourth Gospel. In the teachings of Paul, as in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, Jesus is a prophet, the Christ of God, the King of Israel, but a simple man, issued from David according to the flesh (Acts xvii. 31, Rom. i. 3, 1 Cor. xv. 21, 1 Timothy ii. 5, &c). He is the Son of God by the spirit of holiness (Rom. i. 4). Like all men he is actuated by the Holy Spirit, but in a degree attained by no one in the past, nor will be attained in the future ; he is "the first born among many brethren" (Rom. viii. 14).

God raised him from the dead and seated him at his own right hand in heaven, and placed him above angels, principalities, powers, virtues, dominations not only in this age but also in the age to come. All things are made subject to Christ, except God himself, and Christ is himself subject to him who has subjected all things to Christ.

God set forth his Christ as a propitiatory victim. Jesus, who knew no sin, delivered himself, according to the prophets, as an oblation and a victim of agreeable odour, in order to redeem men from their sins and to purify for

himself a people worthy of him ; he is the paschal lamb of the new law.

Dying once for sin, Jesus is raised to die no more ; he now lives for God, seated at his right hand ; he intercedes for Christians ; he is our mediator ; by him we live in God, render glory to God, address thanks and prayers to God. A man himself, he is with God the head, the prince, the medium of other men—"One sole God, and one sole mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ" (1st Tim. ii. 5). God, the only blessed and powerful one, the King of kings, the Lord of lords, will in his time put forth Jesus Christ, and come to judge by him the living and the dead. Jesus will descend from heaven in the glory of God. All men will appear before his tribunal. Hidden things will be brought to light ; each shall be treated according to his deeds, whether good or evil. The return of Christ, in the hope of the twelve apostles, was to take place while they were alive. They would wait for him in Jerusalem, for the re-establishment of the throne of David. According to Paul, the coming of Christ is at hand, without the exact date being known. He will come suddenly as a thief in the night, but anti-Christ will precede him. Nevertheless, if we take the apostle's words literally the event will take place before the extinction of the existing generation ; Paul will be alive, with a good number of those to whom the epistles are addressed. The opinion of the early coming of the Saviour long persisted in the first ages of Christianity. The Church is the body of which Christ is the head ; all believers form only one body in Jesus Christ (Gal. iii. 28) ; they are the members of his body. If one of them experiences grief or pleasure, all suffer, all rejoice. They are created in Christ for good works. No distinction among the believers, whether of Jew or Gentile, male or female, free or slaves. The Gentiles are called to the same heritage as the Jews ; they are members of the same body, and both alike share in the promises of God ; Christ is in all. It is by faith in Jesus Christ, and not by the works of the law of Moses, that justification is obtained. Christians are dead to the law by the body of

Christ, to belong to another who is risen from the dead. Several become sinners by the disobedience of one person (Rom. v. 19); the law was a pedagogue to Christ that we might be justified by faith. By faith God justifies the circumcised and the uncircumcised. Not circumcision nor uncircumcision avails in Christ, but a new being which is created in us, faith operating by love. The observances of the law are not binding on Christians; they may eat whatsoever is sold in the markets. Christ has abolished the law, to form in himself a new man out of two reconciled peoples (Ephes. ii. 15). Jesus is a new Adam, a celestial and spiritual man, whose image men ought to wear as they have worn that of the earthly Adam (1 Cor. xv. 45-49). Death came through a man, by a man the resurrection will come. All die in Adam, all will rise in Christ. The body, put into the earth a mass of corruption will rise incorruptible; abject and inanimate, it will rise glorious and strong; an animal body it will rise a spiritual body. The dead will rise and those who are alive will be transformed; their body will put on immortality, like the glorified body of Jesus Christ (Phil. iii. 21). These shall not outstrip those. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the voice of the archangel, and the last sound of the trumpet, the Lord himself will descend from heaven; those who died in faith in him will rise first, then the living will be carried up with them to meet the Lord in the clouds, and they will be forever with the Lord (1 Thess. iv. 15; 1 Cor. xv. 52). The organisation of the churches does not differ from that of the synagogues. On arriving in a country, Paul first addresses himself to the synagogue. He teaches there as long as he has hearers. Soon a separation takes place; Paul withdraws into another place with his adherents, Jews and Gentiles; there they form under the name of Church an assembly distinct from the synagogue. Like its body, the spirit of the church is one; but there is a diversity of gifts and graces among believers, each one has his ministry and his function. At the head of the church are elders or superintendents (presbyters, and episcopoi), in number few originally, and designated in-

differently under the one name or the other (Acts xx. 17-28 ; Philip. i. 1 ; Tit. i. 5-7 ; Tim. iii. 1-8), under them stand the deacons (diakonoï). But the number of the elders and superintendents increases afterwards ; the title of superintendent was reserved for the person who presided over the assembly of the elders. The priesthood of the Jews insufficient to lead men to perfection is effaced before the priesthood devolved on Jesus Christ. A better alliance replaces the first which has grown old and is near its end. A new covenant, sealed by the mediator's blood, is substituted for the old one, which had been ratified by the blood of bulls and goats. Jesus is the apostle and sovereign priest of the new faith ; his priesthood is everlasting like himself ; he has once entered into the holy place with his own blood, for our redemption ; he offered himself for a sacrifice, not many times, but one single time, in order to abolish sin ; then he for ever sat down on the right hand of God where he awaits until his enemies are beaten down under his feet (Heb. ix. 25, 26 ; x. 12, 13 ; *et passim*).

The sacrifice which we ought ceaselessly to offer to God by Christ is a sacrifice of praise, that is the fruit of the lips which confess his name ; by this and by the exercise of Christian love we render ourselves acceptable to God (xii, 15, 16). In the Christian meetings in the time of Paul, the officials occupy themselves with the instruction of the believers whether by preaching, or by reading the Old Testament, the gospel and the epistles of the apostles ; prayers and thanksgivings are addressed to God ; hymns are sung in honour of Jesus Christ. The only ceremonies observed are the supper instituted by Jesus and baptism established by his apostles ; other ceremonies take centuries to come into existence ; or, if there are any of which some trace may be found in the early times, they have ordinarily a totally different meaning from that which was given them afterwards in the official churches.

Baptism is not conferred in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit ; it is in the writings of Justin, about the middle of the second century, that you find the first mention of that formula. In the time of the apostles

baptism was administered in the name of Jesus or Jesus Christ. The Jews made frequent use of ablutions. Necessary for the purity of the body, they were in a religious point of view the emblem of purity of heart and mind. They were employed in purifications and in acts of penitence for sin ; they served as a preliminary to every act of devotion. When there arose a prophet, a man of God, those who embraced his doctrine were baptised in his name ; thus at the voice of John the people crowded to his baptism of repentance ; thus the Hebrews, on quitting Egypt, had been baptised into Moses in the cloud and in the sea (1 Cor. x. 2) when Jesus is announced as the Christ by his apostles, the new disciples are baptised in his name. The Acts and the Epistles testify that such is then the baptismal formula (Acts ii. 38 ; viii. 12-16 ; x. 48 ; Rom. vi. 3 ; Galat. iii. 27). Ablution is the symbol of regeneration and of spiritual renewal (Tit. iii. 5). Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians (xi.) sets forth in what manner the supper ought to be celebrated, according to the revelation which he had received from Jesus Christ. The cup was blessed and the bread broken to be distributed to the believers. There is only one loaf, and those who eat of it form only one body (1 Cor. x. 16, 17). To eat that bread and drink that cup is to announce the Lord's death while awaiting his return (xi. 26). You must examine yourself in order to learn if you are worthy to take part in the supper (xi. 28).

The twelve apostles holding to the apostleship of the circumcision, their action was very restricted in its effects. After the ruin of Jerusalem you see appear in a small number the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, who, are, properly speaking, all that remain of the disciples converted by Peter and his eleven colleagues ; the absence of Judaizing Christians in the lands of the Latin tongue would suffice of itself to demonstrate that none of the twelve ever carried the gospel thither. It is all but exclusively in Palestine that you meet with Christians instructed by them. There the testimony of Peter and of the others could prevail with the multitudes who had heard the master's words ; but nearly all the Jews settled in foreign countries combatted

the doctrine of Paul. Why this tenacious unbelief? The children of Israel holding already, under the Mosaic law, the unity of God, brotherly love one for another, and the hope of the Messiah, the great question with them was to ascertain whether they found in Jesus the Messianic qualities. Now the idea of the sufferings of Christ and of his death for the ransom of the sins of the people had not been current down till then; their prejudiced minds refused to admit it. On another side, they considered themselves as brethren in Israel; but they were far from having the same sentiments toward the Gentiles; they held them to be unclean, and thought they desecrated themselves by having communications with them.

For the Gentiles, on the contrary, Paul brought with faith in Christ two new ideas—the unity of God and the brotherhood of men; these ideas were destined to renew the face of the earth. Long had the doctrines of philosophers and the mysterious teachings of religion been undermining polytheism, and giving up to mockery that multitude of divinities which peopled heaven and earth. In the cities especially belief in the old superstitions was fading day by day; even children, says Juvenal, no longer believed in them. When, then, the apostle uttered condemnation on all those gods that had fallen into contempt and on the oracles of vain idols, to raise a temple to the God creator of the universe and Father of men; when, in the name of God, proscribing all vices and all impurities, he demands from the nations for the creator filial love, and for men mutual sentiments of charity, which were to unite the children of the same father, the members of the same body; then the world thrilled with joy, the voice of God was heard and acknowledged in human hearts. From all sides crowds hasten to this new doctrine. A seed has been cast into the ground which is destined to grow in spite of all hindrances, alike in the shade and in the light of heaven, whether under toleration or punishment. Specially among the lowly, the disinherited, does the gospel at first germinate and bear fruit; among the first disciples of Paul there are few wise men according to the flesh, few powerful, few noble

(1 Cor. i. 26). According to the apostle's doctrine, God is not merely the God of one elect nation, but the God and Father of all men. All men consequently are invited. Jesus is not the Messiah of Israel, but of humanity ; the Jewish fraternity is superseded by the Christian fraternity ; for the law of Moses for the Hebrews God has given the faith of Jesus for all nations. Moses and Jesus are two prophets sent of God, one for the sons of Jacob, the other for the sons of men.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM TO THE END OF THE SECOND CENTURY. (70-200.)

SUMMARY.—The Nazarenes—The Ebionites—Jesus Transformed—Cerinthus—John the Presbyter—The Fourth Gospel—Persecution by Domitian—Troubles in the Church of Corinth—Persecution under Trajan—Letter of Pliny the Younger—Rebellion of the Jews—Ignatius—Dispersion of the Jews—The Gnostics—Saturninus, Bardesanes, Tatian, Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentinus—The Montanists—Toleration on the part of Hadrian, and of Antoninus Pius—Formation of Legends on the Apostles—Extension of Christianity—Rage of the Multitude—Imputations on the Christians—Persecutions under Marcus Aurelius—Apologies—Dispute on the Passover—Christianity at the end of the Second Century—Influence of Philosophy and Hellenism—Advent of Christotheism—Its Earliest Opponents—Theodotus of Byzantium, Artemon, Theodotus the Banker, Praxeas, Noetus—The beginnings of the Trinity—Angels and Devils—The Soul—Hell—Millenarianism—Ministers of Worship—Christian Festivals and Christian Assemblies—Agapæ (Love Feasts)—The Supper—Baptism—Penance—Fasts—Prayers for the Dead—Divers Customs.

PAUL and the twelve had disappeared from the scene of the world. Jerusalem was in ruins. In the disasters of their country, the Nazarenes shared in the lot of the other Jews, from whom they never separated. Much importance cannot be attached to what Eusebius says (Hist. iii. 5), that before the beginning of the war, all the believers of Jerusalem retired to the city Pella, beyond the Jordan, on an order received from heaven by holy personages. This tradition of which he first spoke, without saying from what source he had drawn the information, proceeds certainly from some legend occasioned by the passage in the gospel which directs the disciples to fly to the mountains on the approach of the war with which Jerusalem was threatened. The Nazarenes seem to have been most numerous in the north of Palestine, the principal theatre of the preaching of Christ. After the downfall of the sacred city, their belief undergoes no varia-

tion ; it is always the same as in the days of James and the twelve apostles. They are Jews, very zealous for the requirements of the law, while they proclaim the Messiahship of Jesus, whom they consider a simple man, the son of Joseph and Mary. They sanctify the Sabbath, as well as keep the Sunday in memory of the resurrection, they administer baptism, and celebrate the supper in the same manner as the first apostles. The Gospel of the Hebrews, or of Matthew, is the only one they follow. They possess it in the original language ; and in their copy, the two first chapters of ours are not found. Disciples of Peter, they reject the Epistles of Paul, because he taught the abolition of the Jewish ceremonies. In their eyes, he is a deserter of the law ; and to bring him into discredit, they spread abroad fables of different kinds respecting him. At the same time, there exist in the transjordanic lands particular societies of Nazarenes, who, imitating what was practised at Jerusalem under the apostles, put in common all they possess (not much certainly), and live together in a state of poverty, which procures for them the name of Ebionites, that is, paupers, beggars. Those Ebionites hold the same beliefs as the other Nazarenes ; but they exercise more rigour in their religious practices, more zeal for the propagation of their doctrines. They have different books for their use, among others *The Travels of Peter* (Periodoi Petrou), in which the apostle subjects himself to the requirements of the law (Epiph. xxx. 15). Their communities are settled specially in Nabathea (in Arabia Petraea), in Paneades (in Trachonitis), in Moabititis, and Basanitis (East of the Jordan), and the Isle of Cyprus. According to Epiphanes (xxx. 18) they had spread their doctrines in the province of Asia, and even in Rome. However, no distinct trace of them is to be seen in that city, although some may have appeared there in the middle of the eleventh century—a time at which all the dissidences successively reproduced themselves in the capital of the Roman empire. On the contrary, in the last quarter of the first century, they are found in the province of Asia, where they are in struggle with the disciples of Paul against whom they speak forcibly.

But the differences between these Judaizers and the Christians of pagan extraction do not long limit themselves to the observances of the Mosaic law. The variations increase, and the schism becomes deeper by the introduction into the Greek Churches of theories on the incarnation of the Word, and on the divinity of Christ.

In this respect, Paul did not separate himself from the primitive apostles. Like them, he held Jesus to be a simple man, Son of God as to the Spirit, son of David as to the flesh. Although with him the person of Christ tends to idealisation, even in his uncontested letters, and his dignities and prerogatives are singularly augmented, his person nevertheless still remains human ; deity dwells alone in God. But after the death of the apostle and of his first disciples, another opinion is not slow in gaining prevalence among the Christians of Hellenic origin. It was specially, as we have remarked, in the popular masses, that the disciples of the Christian faith were recruited. Most of them brought into the Church more goodwill and zeal than instruction and light. It was difficult for them to dispossess themselves entirely of the ideas in which they had been brought up, more difficult perhaps to understand the bearing of the biblical expressions which were not familiar to them. In their assemblies, they were occupied pre-eminently with the gospel and the epistles of Paul. Copies of the Old Testament were rare ; it is only in the last half of the second century that the Sacred Scripture of the Jews begins to be well known, even by the best instructed of the Christians of Asia Minor. (Euseb., Hist. iv. 26.) It is then easy to see that the Gentiles, when become Christians, missed the biblical sense of the phrase, *Son of God*, and imperfectly apprehended the sense which Paul had given of it. In error as to the true signification of the term, and yielding to anterior recollections, they soon came to see in Jesus a Son of God in the same sense as different Hellenic divinities were sons of Jupiter, the Supreme God. (Justin, 1 Apol. xxxi., xxxii.) Jesus the Mediator, the head of the Church, the universal judge at the end of time, is by Scripture raised to a too high degree of power and glory, for those who, still imbued

with polytheistic recollections, and little initiated into the language of the Hebrew writings, not to make of the righteous man, the holy one, the elect prophet of God, the Christ, the son of David, a being superior in essence to other men, in a word, a divine personage who devoted himself for the human race, and ceaselessly intercedes for them in heaven. The mystery with which the Christians surround themselves in order to escape from persecutions, offers another resemblance to the mysterious worships of the East and of Greece ; in the eyes of the profane, as in those of the adepts, the intercessor to whom hymns are offered in the secret assemblies of the Christians may well have seemed to be of the same nature as the gods worshipped in the mysteries of Hellenism. This disposition of mind proceeded to nothing short of destroying the divine unity by creating a second god, who opened the way to introduce others into the pantheon of the new polytheism. But the tendencies of the vulgar were modified in men of a cultivated mind. Those of the new Christians who are versed in the Greek philosophy, or in oriental science, bring with them the tribute of their conceptions and their dogmas. Christ becomes day by day transformed in a figurative and mystical diction.

In the midst of the diverse theories, there was one, that of the Word, which was taught equally in the schools of Platonism and in the oriental sanctuaries. Philo, in his turn had perceived it under the metaphors, and the allegories employed by the author of the Proverbs (viii., ix.) to describe the excellence of wisdom. The works of the Alexandrine Jew exercised great influence in these days. They enjoyed great authority among the Hellenic Christians in consequence of the affinity of his doctrines with those of Plato. Hence came a propensity to allegorise, and to find in Jesus the Wisdom of sacred Scripture, and the Word of Greece and of the East. Under these influences, and in this point of view, Christ was denominated the Son of God. These opinions were strongly combatted by the Ebionites and the Nazarenes. For them as for the apostles Christ is a man of exemplary virtue, a prophet into whom the Holy Spirit descended at the time of his baptism, and whom the hand of

God raised after His death, and placed at the right hand of the Father Almighty. Nevertheless when the idea of His miraculous birth had spread itself in the legends, a portion of the Nazarenes admitted that Jesus was conceived by a pure effect of the divine power. By them there were added to the primitive Matthew the legends as to the conception of Christ which are found in the two first chapters of that which we possess.

Ephesus seems to have been at this time the principal theatre of the discussions which these new differences engendered between the Church of the Gentiles and the Judaic sects, differences before which the question of the legal observances in some sort was obliterated.

Cerinthus was the person who maintained the opinion of the Judaisers in the most striking manner. On his life and doctrines authorities vary. Some assert that it is he who withstands Peter on the occasion of the baptism of Cornelius, and attempted to alienate the spirit of the Gentiles from Paul and his gospel. Others ascribe to him some doctrines which are evidently borrowed from Gnosticism, and which thereby are in direct opposition to the Nazarene opinions. It is added that Cerinthus announced the establishment on earth, after the resurrection, of a temporal kingdom in which the inhabitants of Jerusalem restored, would, during a thousand years, enjoy all the happiness of this world in the midst of festivals and continual pleasures. This, perhaps, caused him to be regarded also as the author of the *Apocalypse* which contains the same prediction. The great adversary of Cerinthus and the Ebionites at Ephesus was John, a man of high authority who guided all the Churches of the province of Asia under the name of elder (presbyter) or superintendent (episcopos) two terms then identical (Iren. iii. 3; Eph. xxx. 24).^{*} Under these cir-

^{*} Elder (in Greek Presbyter) denotes the office of superintendent according to his age, the older persons being chosen for presidents; episcopos (our word bishop which literally signifies an overseer) denotes the same officer from the functions he has to discharge. Thus the Elder (or presbyter) in one point of view was the overseer or bishop in another. It was only at a later day that the two designated distinct and separate "orders."—*Translator*.

cumstances there appeared in the first half of the 2nd century the fourth gospel, the special object of which was to consecrate the dogmas in the word or logos, and on its incarnation in the person of Jesus. That gospel opens by the theory of the Word such as it was explained in the theosophies of the east, sources of the Platonic doctrine and in the poetic images of the *Proverbs*. Now this Word which existed in the beginning, who is life, light, truth, the creator of all things, the only begotten Son of God, from whom he emanates without ceasing to be one with him. This Word heralded by the religious beliefs and the philosophic doctrines of the nations among whom the new faith was being propagated, was, says the Evangelist, sent into the world to give knowledge of the Father ; He became flesh and dwelt among us ; whoever believes in Him will be a child of God and will live in eternity ; all are invited to this spiritual new birth ; all are called to share in the celestial nutriment which His life gives to the world. John, it will be seen, does not restrict himself to the speculations of Platonism, or to the poetry of Solomon. But following the way opened by Philo the Jew, he plunges more deeply into the oriental traditions and borrows from them the theory of the (*inarnation of the Word* (Avatar). Like them he makes the word live and teach among men (Buddha). Persons that are initiated into the mysticism of the ancient religions cannot mistake the meaning of his words. In the east, the Word and the other emanations of the Supreme God may well be with the vulgar distinct divinities who in some sort are materialised by images and emblems ; but persons versed in religious science see there only metaphysical abstractions, different aspects of God, personifications of his faculties and his attributes. Sages admitted quite really that the word of God, the expression of his thought and identical with it, considered in its essence, existed from the beginning, that he (it) was the author of all creation, the life, the light, and the truth, but when they spoke of his (its) incarnation in a man (in terrestrial Hermes for instance) they intended nothing more than that that man had received a full revelation of the divine thought. To say with John that the Word in-

carnated itself in Jesus, or with the other evangelists that the Holy Spirit descended into Him, is evidently to make use of expressions of the same nature; only the latter terms belong to the Bible, while the former belong to the oriental theosophies.

But the multitude of the disciples that had come from Hellenism will no longer see in Jesus a simple man, a holy personage, filled and actuated by the divine wisdom. What the fourth Gospel seeks to establish is the deity of Christ, leaving the doctors to explain the theory of the Word, and his incarnation. This change, however, is not at first received in all the churches. It is not before the reign of the Emperor Commodus (180-192) that it seems to prevail.

We shall hereafter see what opposition will be made to those conceptions, and what a long career they will open to the sophistical spirit of the Greeks by their inextricable difficulties, and the innumerable debates they will occasion. However, in the midst of those disputes, the Nazarenes and the disciples of Paul find themselves under the blows of persecution. Domitian, after having signalled his zeal for polytheism by forbidding the philosophers to dwell in Rome, publishes, in the last years of his reign, edicts against the crime of piety, which deal blows on every one that embraces or propagates the religion of Moses. Now, since a distinction is not yet made between Christians and Jews, the law falls with all its force on the followers of Jesus, who betray themselves by the ardour and the success of their propagandism. John the Elder sees himself banished into the isle of Patmos, one of the Sporades. Flavius Clement, a consular personage, and cousin of the Emperor, suffers death for the crime of impiety (96 A.D.). Flavia Domitilla, his wife, also a relation of Diocletian, is banished for the same reason into the island of Pandataria. Many other persons who have gone over to Jewish usages (Dio Cassius lxxvii.) are equally condemned, some to death, others to the confiscation of their property. The church regarded all these victims as martyrs to the Christian faith. Domitian's death put an end to these cruelties. Nerva, his successor, dismisses those who are brought up for the crime of irreligion, restores the exiles, and forbids all to bring charges of

impiety or Judaism (Dio lxviii.). John the Elder may return into the province of Asia. He died, it is said, at Ephesus, the third year of the reign of Trajan (101). It is at the time of the Domitian persecution that critics commonly place the first Epistle of Clement addressed to the Corinthians by the Church of Rome, and attributed to Clement, an epistle from which we have already cited passages relating to Paul and Peter. The sudden and successive calamities there spoken of are then the rigours exercised against the disciples under the pretext of Judaism. Others carry back this epistle to an anterior date, whether 68 after Nero's cruelties, or 75 after troubles which followed his death. Doubts have also been raised as to the person of the Clement who is supposed to have drawn up the Epistle. However this may be, that letter is a reply to the Church at Corinth.

A kind of sedition had broken out against the elders of that church, several of whom had been deprived of their functions, despite the piety of their lives, and the dignity of their conduct. On this occasion, the Church of Corinth had asked counsel of the Church of Rome, which might still be governed by some of the principal disciples of Paul. The Church of Rome in its reply, exhorts the Corinthians to sentiments of concord and mutual charity ; and after saying that the elders or bishops had been, as well as the deacons, established by the apostle for the whole of their lives, it expresses the opinion that they cannot without injustice be dispossessed of their ministry, when they exercise it in a worthy manner, and have been appointed by the consent and approbation of the whole Church.

The debates raised at Corinth prove that at this time, the elders who had the direction of the churches sought to hold their position for life, while the members thought they had a right to change them when they saw fit : there was no question of acknowledging in them a sacerdotal character. The epistle of Clement, written in Greek, was, as we have said, long considered as forming part of sacred scripture ; it was read publicly in the religious assemblies of the Hellenic countries. The revocation of the laws of

Domitian had not put an end to all the dangers that threatened the church. In the earliest days of its existence, it proved itself an object of the hatred of the Jews, and the popular impulses of the Gentiles ; but then the magistrates did not rise against it. Paul had been able, without offending the authorities, to openly publish the Gospel in Corinth, in Ephesus, in Rome. Nevertheless, in the degree in which Christianity made headway, injured interests, and annoyed beliefs became alarmed each day more and more ; animosities became more keen, attacks more frequent ; the public powers often intervened, especially in the Greek provinces, which were the principal seat of the new faith. Christians soon saw themselves obliged to assemble secretly, and during the night ; this practice became customary in every country where it was made necessary by intolerance ; under Domitian's persecution it may have become general ; certainly under Trajan the Christians of Asia Minor had recourse to secret and nocturnal meetings, which gave to their worship some appearance resembling the mysteries of polytheism. Now the imperial authority looked with an evil eye on associations of that nature, they frequently occasioned troubles, especially among the populations of the cities. Recent instances had presented themselves in Bithynia, at the time when Pliny the younger was called to the government of that province. In the year 112 he issues a special edict against fraternities, that is associations of all kinds ; the Christians are not mentioned by name ; but their religious society and their nightly gatherings place them under the range of the edict. Accusers fail not to bring them before the governor of the province ; the fervour of their zeal, and the suspicions which prevail against them, call forth implacable adversaries. Pliny, alarmed at the number of charges, and the multitude of implicated persons, determines to appeal to the Emperor. We reproduce his letter as the first testimony which comes to us from a profane historian.

Pliny to the Emperor Trajan.

"I make it, Prince, a religious duty to consult thee on

things which raise doubts in my mind. Who can better instruct or direct me? I have never been present at the trials of the Christians, and I know not what the accusation against them is, nor how far the penalty should extend. Full of uncertainty, I have asked myself—Should I take into account the differences of age, or make no distinction between children and grown-up persons? Should I forgive them on their repenting, or is it of no use to cease to be a Christian when once a person has been one? Is it the mere name that is to be punished in the absence of crimes? or crimes added to the name? The following is the rule that I have followed in regard to those that have been brought before me: I have inquired of themselves if they were Christians. Those who said they were, I have questioned a second and a third time in threatening them with punishment; when they persisted I ordered them to be executed. In effect, whatever the nature of what they confessed, I did not hesitate to think that their inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished. Others, smitten with the same folly, I directed to be sent to Rome, because they were Roman citizens. However, the accusations becoming numerous, as commonly happens in such cases, several kinds were put before me. An anonymous list was handed in, containing the names of a great number of persons, who denied that they were or had been Christians; in my presence they invoked the gods, with supplications, incense, and wine offered to thy image, which I had purposely caused to be placed among the statues of our divinities; they even uttered imprecations against Christ. This is, it is said, what you can never compel those to do who are veritable Christians. In consequence I thought it proper to absolve them. Others, denounced by an accuser, first acknowledged that they were Christians; soon after they denied it, saying in effect that they had been, but that they had changed their minds, some more than three years ago, others several years, some more than twenty; all worshipped thy image and the statues of the gods, all cursed Christ. They asserted that their sole fault or error consisted in this—that they were accustomed on a fixed day to assemble before

sunrise to sing in turns verses to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by oath, not to commit a crime, not to rob, to steal, to commit adultery, to betray their faith, to disown a pledge ; that after that they were accustomed to retire, and to meet again to take in common a meal which had in it nothing criminal. They added that they had ceased to do so since my edict by which I had, according to thy orders, forbidden all fraternities. Then I thought it the more necessary, in order to know the truth, to subject to torture two women who were slaves, who were said to be employed in the service of worship, but I found nothing else than a pitiable and extravagant superstition. In consequence I suspended the prosecutions, to hasten to refer to thy directions. The matter appeared to me worthy of reflection, especially on account of the great number of those who are compromised. A multitude of persons of both sexes and every age and condition are and will be every day brought before the law courts. It is not only in the cities that this contagious superstition is spread, but even in the villages and country places. However, it seems possible to stop and remedy the evil ; it is certain that in effect people again begin to frequent the temples, which were almost deserted, to resume the sacrifices which have been long interrupted, and everywhere to sell victims which previously found few purchasers. Hence it is easy to judge what a crowd of people will be corrected if we give an opportunity for repentance."

Trajan to Pliny.

"Thou hast, my dear Secundus, taken a proper course in the examination of the cases of those that have been brought before thee as Christians. It is impossible to establish any general and fixed direction in the matter. They are not to be sought after ; if they are brought before thee and convicted, they must be punished. However, he who says that he is not a Christian and will give proof of it by his conduct, that is, by invoking our gods, earns pardon by his repentance, however suspected he may have been. As to

the anonymous accusations they must not be admitted ; it is a bad example and not suitable to our age."

These two letters suggest several reflections. The counsel asked for by Pliny is a new proof that the Christians have never been persecuted in Rome ; otherwise Pliny, a lawyer, an orator, a senator, and a consul, would not have been ignorant of the forms to be observed, of the nature of the crime, what punishment ought to be inflicted ; but at the same time his words denote that juridical prosecutions against Christians were not something new in other regions, and specially in the provinces of Asia Minor where they existed in great number. Pliny's letter bears testimony to the progress made by the Church in that region and of the low condition of Polytheism, whose temples were deserted and whose sacrifices were interrupted. But let us well observe that the Christians of Bithynia were prosecuted less on account of religion than for the crime of unlawful association ; this was the deed that the Roman authority punished principally ; it was regarded as a permanent source of disorders and troubles. Trajan's reply was of a nature to relax the persecution without putting a stop to its course. Every one having the right to accuse, there would always be found persons to exercise it ; and in that case there remained only punishment or repentance by an act of apostacy. The line laid down by Trajan seems to have been constantly followed in accusations against Christians. Under that prince, however, the rigours were not made general. Mileto of Sardis and Tertullian, in their apologies, do not complain of them, nor does Lactantius in his book on *The Death of Persecutors*. In Trajan's last years a new occasion for persecution was given by the rebellion of the Jews, with whom public hate ceased not to confound the Christians. The Israelites, rising in Egypt, Cyrenaica, and the Island of Cyprus massacred there, it is said, more than four hundred thousand persons. Vigorously attacked in their turn, they are exterminated on all sides and the revolt was extinguished in their blood. The insurrection of the Egyptian Jews had its echo in Judea and

Mesopotamia, but Trajan's generals repressed it in Palestine; and that prince caused the Jews of Mesopotamia to be run down in order to drive them out of the province. In the midst of these movements Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is condemned to death by the emperor, who perhaps saw in the religious resistance of the head of the Christians of that city, a spirit of revolt which it was needful to suppress. Sent to Rome to be thrown to the wild beasts of the circus, Ignatius, in passing through Asia Minor, wrote, in order to strengthen the faith of the churches, letters to several of them, which we possess, but their authenticity is not recognised. In his Epistle to the Romans he entreats his brethren in the capital of the world not to interpose to obtain his pardon which would only restore him to the miseries of the world. Trajan doubtless thought he had put an end to the rebellion of the Jews: but it broke out again shortly after his death; and only at the cost of three years of efforts did the authorities succeed, not in suppressing, but in mitigating it. The causes still remained; the love of independence and religious zeal were aroused beyond bounds by the vexations of the Roman administration and by the profanations of which the worship of Israel was the object. Motives of the same kind, among others, it is said, the construction of a temple of Jupiter in Jerusalem, on the spot where the ancient temple stood, bring about in the sixteenth year of Hadrian's reign (133) an insurrection more formidable than the foregoing, a supreme struggle against the imperial power. The Jews, after making preparations in secret, openly fly to arms, seize advantageous posts, raise fortresses, and dig caverns for places of refuge. Their leader names himself Barchochbas, son of the star, by allusion to the star of Jacob, spoken of in Numbers (xxiv. 17). He gives himself out as the Messiah, who, according to the prophets, was to re-establish the kingdom of Israel. The insurrection spreads over different countries, and occasions great calamities. Several nations join the Jews; the world, so to say, is shaken by the shock. The Romans, who at first disdained the enterprise, sent at last considerable forces under the command of Julius Severus, the most renowned

of their generals. That able captain avoids delivering battle to enemies whose multitude and despair he apprehends. He attacks them separately, cuts off their provisions, and with more time but less peril inflicts on them such reverses as to allow only a small number to escape. Judea is the principal theatre of the events. Bethara, a very strong city, delays for some time the Roman army, which finally captures it in the eighteenth year of Hadrian (135). The greatest part of the Jews meet with death there with Barchochbas, their chief. In that war the Romans demolish not less than fifty strongholds and nine hundred and eighty-five cities and villages; they slay nearly six hundred thousand men, and so great a multitude perish by hunger, sickness, and fire that Judea remains a desert. The victory, however, was dearly bought; the greatness of the losses prevents the emperor from congratulating himself on his success in the letter that he wrote to the Senate. The Jews are driven out of Palestine. An edict from Hadrian forbids them to enter the country and to set foot in Jerusalem. That city is filled with strangers and receives the name of Aelia Capitolina, which it preserves until the age of Constantine. At the dispersion of the Jews the primitive Church of the Nazarenes comes to an end. The greater number of those disciples perished in the disasters of the war, and the remainder are confounded with the ruins of Israel. It does not appear that the Nazarenes afterwards formed a distinct church or synagogue. At the end of the 4th century they are found under the name of Mineens in the synagogues of the oriental Jews. A new church, consisting of Gentile Christians, is established in Aelia Capitolina. The Nazarenes are definitively accounted heretics by the disciples of Paul, who till then had not ceased to regard them as believers, notwithstanding their disagreement on the legal observances. The separation becomes still more complete in consequence of the new theories which are produced by the gospel of John. At last the Nazarenes, few in number, and without influence, pass out of public view. Christianity seems to have promptly spread in Mesopotamia and the other lands of the Euphrates, without its being known by

whom it was introduced. If ever the primitive apostles preached out of Judea, it is doubtless in those regions in which their language was spoken, and where dwelt a number of Jews, the only class to whom they were commissioned to preach the gospel. The first Epistle of Peter, had it any authentic character, would lead one to think that he exercised his ministry at Babylon, whence that letter was dated. In regard to the Gentiles who remained in those regions they had been initiated into Christianity by disciples of Paul, that came from Syria or Asia Minor. It is also without doubt Christians of these last provinces that carried the gospel into Egypt. The Jews of that country were accounted schismatics by those of Judea; the Nazarenes had no desire to make proselytes among them. The tradition which ascribes to Mark the foundation of the church and the school of Alexandria is a pure supposition, which resembles all that has been uttered on the preaching of the twelve apostles in the different parts of the world. There is no trace of an Egyptian church in the historical monuments of the first century; it is in the time of Hadrian and by Gnostic dissidences that the existence of Christianity in Alexandria is revealed.

The Christian faith, in penetrating into Egypt, Syria, and the provinces of the Euphrates, found itself, as in Asia Minor and Greece, in contact with the religions of those different districts; the communication of ideas necessarily brought changes, or loans, from one belief to another. From the earliest times there were attempts at fusion. Paul warns his disciples against systems which borrow the name of science, (1 Tim. ii. 20). That name science, in Greek gnosis was given in the east to the mysterious doctrine which revealed itself to adepts who had been long tried: it was the philosophy of religion. The attempts against which the apostle spoke were renewed with still more force in proportion to the progress of Christianity. The Gospel of John seems a concession made to Gnostic ideas, an attempt at reconciliation between them and the doctrine of the Platonising Christians. But in the oriental regions the new Christians nursed in the ideas of the ancient religions, did not confine themselves to the theory of the Word and his incarnation;

they wish to introduce into the religion of Christ the entire Gnosis in setting it free from popular superstitions. A loan from its pneumatology seemed to them so much the more natural, because Genesis preserves an absolute silence on the world of intelligences. This for the oriental was a manifest void which they sought to fill with the data of their primitive beliefs. From this tendency powerful and active heresies arose. The system of these dissidents has then for its object to mix with Christianity the Gnosis or profound theology of Egypt and the east. They give themselves the name of Gnostics (Scientists) and Pneumatics (Spiritists). The name of orientalising Christians would suit them best. The old heresiologists indicate as precursors or first authors of Gnosticism, Simon the Magician and Menander : this in our opinion is an error ; neither the one nor the other was a Christian. Simon had formulated his system and united a great number of followers before he knew anything of the evangelical preaching ; his school, according to Justin, had long subsisted in Samaria and in the neighbouring countries. He was indeed a Gnostic in this sense that he had drawn materials from oriental theosophies : but it was to Mosaism that he attempted to accommodate their doctrines, an enterprise which doubtless had been attempted more than once before him. The Gnostics, with whom we have to occupy ourselves, followed the same way of assimilation in regard to the Christian religion.

We shall not speak of the diverse small sects which arose here and there without succeeding in a complete elaboration, and without leaving many vestiges after them. The great Gnostic schools are ordinarily divided into two branches, the Asiatic and the Egyptian. As the ancient religions, whence they proceed, both have common principles and points of divergence. They both admit a Supreme God, the unknown Father, whence emanates by the unfolding of his faculties, the powers or virtues which compose the intellectual world ; they teach the eternity of matter, and the creation of the world by intelligences of an inferior nature ; they agree in rejecting the resurrection of the body, in depreciating the god of the Jews whom they class among

secondary powers. The differences which distinguish them are analogous to those that are indicated between the Egyptian worship and those of Syria and the provinces of the Euphrates. The first school of Gnosticism appeared in Syria. Saturninus publishes his system in the city of Antioch, his country, about the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, (118-120). He held the Christian faith, and from no other person did he derive his doctrine, on which only vague notions have reached us. Saturninus admits two principles ; a good god, and matter which is essentially evil, and is directed by a maleficent intelligence. The Father, unknown to all, produces the angels, the virtues, the powers. Seven angels created the world and the beings that inhabit it. When they formed man according to divine resemblance, they were not able to give him any but animal life. It is from the good God that he received a reasonable soul. In opposition to creatures endowed with a divine soul, the principle of evil produced others, in character similar to his own ; thence are two kinds of men, these good, those bad. The government of the world is divided among the creating angels, who preside over the seven planets ; one of them is the god of the Jews. Those angels having become faithless to the Father the Christ was sent with the mission of establishing order, to beat down the power of the god of the Jews, to destroy the devils, and to save men who had received the spark of life. That Saviour did not take organs formed of matter ; his body was purely fantastic ; he was not born, and he suffered only in appearance. He showed men the way of salvation, a way difficult to keep to. In order to return to God after the dissolution of the body, which will not rise, you must abstain from all the pleasures of the senses, deny yourself wine, the flesh of animals, shun marriage, and observe absolute continence. The sect of Saturninus does not appear to have spread except in the interior of Syria ; after a short duration it was lost in other heresies of the same nature.

The most celebrated sect of Asia is that which was founded by Cerdon and Marcion and which certain authors, in consequence of its peculiar form, have represented as a

third branch of Gnosticism. Cerdon, a native of Syria, after publishing his doctrine in his native land, goes about the year 140 to Rome, where he dwells a very long time, now spreading his doctrine, now returning to the Græco-Latin Church by a pretended repentance. Marcion was the son of a bishop of Sinope, in the Pontic region. Seduced by the oriental ideas, he took them to Rome some years after Cerdon. The two combine and Marcion forms a body of doctrine which he diffuses with so much ardour and success, that his predecessor being in some sort effaced, their common followers are all known under the single name of Marcionites.

Marcion teaches the two principles of good and evil. Beneath the invisible and unknown God, whence emanates the celestial world, he places another God, or inferior intelligence, who formed our world with the bad and eternal matter. This creator, sufficiently just and powerful to reward and punish, struggles perpetually against the principle of evil or the devil. The two aspire to command in the world, and to reign over men. The creative angel is the God of the Jews ; the devil has under his sway the other nations of the earth. The law which the creator gave his people, the work of a secondary intelligence, is imperfect in many of its particulars. The object of its author is to attach men to the things of earth, in order to retain them under his power ; it is with the good and the evil things of this world that they are rewarded or punished. This God shows himself by turns angry, jealous, cruel, eager for war, subject to repentance ; he demands an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

The souls of men, whose nature is divine, are oppressed both by the creator and by the devil, who holds them captive in the bonds of the flesh. To deliver those souls from servitude the supreme God sent to earth a being of the same essence as himself, the Christ, his son, who rendered himself visible under the envelope of an apparent body. The God of the Jews and the devil vainly coalesced to put him to death ; they assailed a body unsusceptible of pain : Christ revealed the Father, and taught us the way of salvation ; it consists in withstanding the seductions of the

senses, and in forming the soul on the model of divine perfection which he came to offer us. Only pure souls enter the celestial abode ; the body, which is made of earth will not rise again. Marcion is very rigid in his moral principles ; he requires the mortification of the body by fasts and austerities, disuse of wine, even in the supper, also animal food, abstinence from marriage, and all the pleasures of life. Despite these rigorous maxims, he obtains rapid success ; the morals of his disciples are excellent ; those disciples are very firm under martyrdom. His sect spreads far into the east as into the west ; it reckons a long succession of bishops, and disappears only in the fifth century, under the blow of the imperial edicts.

The doctrine of Marcion loses itself in speculation less than that of the other Gnostics ; it is more consistent and practical. Its author tries to connect it with the books of the Old and the New Covenant ; of the latter he rejects the Apocalypse, as also the Epistles, which bear the name of Catholic ; and among Paul's Epistles those that are addressed to Titus, to Timothy, and to the Hebrews. The Gospel of Luke is the only one of which he makes use, not, however, without certain variations ; he does not admit the two first chapters. Some of the disciples and successors of Marcion modify in divers points the doctrine of the master, among others Lucan, Severus, and Apelles. In the Syrian branch of the Gnostics is placed Bardesanes, an able and learned man, born at Edessa, in Mesopotamia ; he opens his career by composing works valued by pure Platonisers ; he even writes against the heresy of the Marcionites ; but afterwards he gives himself up to the illusions of the oriental theology, and forms a sect in Syria in the earlier days of Marcus Aurelius (161). He teaches the two principles of good and evil. The good god created the world without any evil alloy ; the inhabitants were clad with an ethereal and celestial body ; but men, allowing themselves to be seduced by the prince of darkness, fall into bodies formed of corrupted matter ; thence a perpetual struggle between their divine soul and the passions of matter which enchain it. Jesus descended from the higher regions into a celestial

and aerial body, to teach men to tame the gross instincts of their terrestrial nature ; it is by abstinence, fasting, and meditation, that they can be subdued so that men may render themselves worthy, after the dissolution of the body, to enter the abode of everlasting happiness, where the just live invested with a new body of an ethereal substance. Bardesanes, it is said, returned at last to his first opinions, edifying the Greek Church by his morals and his works, but, none the less, did his sect long remain in the regions of Syria. Among the Gnostics of this country, critics place Tatian, a native of Assyria, who had been a disciple of Justin Martyr in Rome. Like Bardesanes, he first followed the doctrine of the Greeks, but after the death of his master (172), he returns to his country, and adopts a certain number of oriental ideas. His disciples are specially distinguished by the austerity of their morals ; they drink only water, even in the celebration of the Supper, refuse all the pleasures of life, subdue the passions of the flesh by constant fasts, by celibacy, and the most rigorous continence. They are called *Encratites* (self-controllers or Temperance men), *Hydroparastates* (Aquarians or Water-Drinkers), *Apoclates* (Renouncers) ; their sect is principally spread in the provinces of Phrygia and Galatia. In the branch of Egyptian Gnostics, the first in date is Basilides of Alexandria ; he taught in that city under the reign of Hadrian, nearly at the same time as Saturninus in Syria (120). In the immensity, according to Basilides, there echoed a word which caused the infinite germ of things to appear, the egg of the world, which contains three essences or filiations.


The first essence, which is the purest and the lightest, flies toward the absolute and rejoins it as promptly as a feather or a thought. The second essence, which is heavier, tries in vain to reach the absolute on the wings of the spirit ; it falls back under its weight, and cannot penetrate into the upper space. The firmament interposes between the sphere of the first essence and that of the second, on their boundary resides the Holy Spirit. The visible universe, which we inhabit, is formed of the second essence. It is divided into three regions : the first, or the most elevated, is called the

Ogdoad. There presides the great Archon, the head of the universe. He does not know what is above the firmament, and takes himself for the first principle ; a second has emanated from him, more beautiful and more luminous than his father. The second region, that of the Hebdomade, is the sublunary world, ruled over also by an archon, or prince, who has procreated a son finer and more luminous than himself. Below the Hebdomade is the third region, that of disordered life, where matter bears sway.

In regard to the third essence contained in the primordial germ of things, it remains at first mingled with the second ; but it is destined to disengage itself in order to return to the absolute in traversing the visible world, which holds it captive ; experiencing in all its force the attraction of the absolute, it is one day to break its bonds by an energetic aspiration, and, escaping from the visible world, to enter into the sphere of the first essence. The ancient alliance was governed by the archons of the two first regions of our world. The archon of the Ogdoad reigned alone until Moses. That of the Hebdomade inspired the Hebrew legislator, and raised up the prophets ; it was only at the appearance of the third essence that there could take place the deliverance of captive souls, the enfranchisement of the predestined beings or true Gnostics.

This deliverance is accomplished by the gospel, it is like the ray of the absolute which penetrates predestined souls. The light shone in the two first regions of the visible world ; the son of the great Archon is first illumined and becomes the first revealer, the first Christ. The illumination is also produced in the sublunary world ; the son of the archon, illumined the first, acts as a second Christ. The third Christ is Jesus, born of Mary by the virtue of the Holy Spirit ; it is he that dissipates the darkness of the lower region where we live ; those who depend on the third essence are attracted to him, and begin here below to unite themselves with the absolute, in which they will sometime be made perfect ; all that belongs to the second essence will fall back into its first ignorance ; even the two archons. The gates of the eternal light, opening only for the third

essence, close immediately when it is introduced into the absolute. In dying, Christ has restored to the different regions of the world the elements which were in it ; to the inferior region, his body, which remained in the tomb ; to the sublunar region, the psychical element ; to that of the great archon, the element which he had taken ; to the Holy Spirit, the divine truth which animated it ; finally, what he had of the third essence, has ascended the firmament to consummate itself in the absolute. Jesus is the type of the true Gnostic ; he enlightens men in order to lead them to salvation. Faith is born of a sudden illumination. The gospel is the knowledge (gnosis) of what is above our world. Basilides, it is said, authorised men to conceal their faith when there was peril of life, and, in the same case, to eat of the flesh of victims offered to idols. He was also of the opinion that the martyrs must have committed some sin, before God, all just and all good, would allow them to be tortured by the pagan executioners. The Basilidians divided the visible universe into three hundred and sixty-five heavens, the sum total of which received the mysterious name of Abraxas, which, in Greek letters, forms the number 365. Carpocrates, a contemporary of Saturninus and of Basilides, seems to have partaken of the opinions of the other Gnostics of his country in the existence of a Supreme Being, from whom emanate Æons or celestial spirits, on the eternity of matter, on the formation of the world by the angels or secondary powers, on the divine origin of souls imprisoned in material bodies ; he also affirmed that Jesus, the son of Joseph, was distinguished from other men only by the purity of his soul, which retained the remembrance of what it had seen in the celestial circumvolution ; that in consideration of his merits, he had received from the Supreme God a virtue which enabled him to escape from the creators of the world, to rise freely toward the ethereal regions ; and that it was the same with every soul that resembled his. The Carpocratians, as other Gnostics, worshipped images of Christ, the Apostles, and the Sages. They taught, it is said, that salvation was obtained by faith and love ; but, that all other things, indifferent in themselves, are



called good or bad according to human opinion, while, in reality, there was nothing bad in nature. With the system of Carpocrates are connected different sects which professed maxims more or less corrupt. Such were the Prodicians who rejected prayers as useless, seeing that God well knew what was necessary for us ; the Antitactes, the Borborites and others, who maintained that, according to the divine will, all things ought to be common to all, even women. The most celebrated of Egyptian sects is that of Valentinus, who, after making himself known on the banks of the Nile, went to Rome, where he published his doctrine from the year 140 to 160. His school afterwards established itself in the island of Cyprus, and thence made its way into the neighbouring regions. The principles of Valentinus do not, in general, differ from those of the other Egyptian gnostics. But, endowed with a more subtle intellect, and more prolific imagination, he made his system more logical, and exercises greater seductions over minds. This system is divided into three parts ; the first refers to the Pleroma, or the fulness of divine things ; the second to things intermediate between the Pleroma and our world ; the third, to the visible world in which we live. The Pleroma is composed of thirty *Æons*, of which fifteen are masculine, fifteen feminine. At their head is the Eternal God, increate, incomprehensible ; the Valentinians call him Proon (pre-existent), and more commonly Bythos (the abyss), he has for wife Ennoia (thought), which they designated also Sigé (Silence), or Charis (Grace). From Bythos and Ennoia proceeds Nous (Intelligence), the only son, father and principle of all that exists ; and Alethia (Truth). This first quaternary produced all the rest. A second tetrade or quaternary flows from it, which comprises Logos (the Word), and Zoé (Life), Anthropos (Man), and Ecclesia (the Church) ; of these two last couples, the first is engendered by Nous, and in his turn, gives birth to the second. The two tetrades united form the first Ogdoade, the root and substance of all things. New couples of *Æons* proceed from the second tetrade, and thus Logos, its chief, is called the father of all those that follow. Logos and Zoé then beget a decade of new *Æons* ;

while Anthropos and Ecclesia on their side produces a Dodecade in which figure Paracletos (the Paraclete), Pistis (Faith), Agape (Charity). The last members are Teletos (Perfection), and Sophia (Wisdom). The thirty Æons of the Pleroma are thus divided into three groups—ogdoade, decade, and dodocade. Although proceeding from the same principle, the Æons were unequal in condition. Nous alone, in the quality of first-born, was in direct communication with Bythos, and penetrated into his grandeur, inaccessible to others; thence, in them an ardent thirst to know the Father, and a kind of jealousy against Nous. That feeling becomes much more lively in Sophia, the youngest of the feminine Æons; and by the force of its desire, it puts into the world, with the aid of Horus, guardian of the celestial abode, a daughter named Achamoth, which remains on the outside of the Pleroma. For fear lest a similar thing should take place, the Father produces by his only son a new couple of Æons, Christ and the Holy Spirit, whose mission is to explain all to others. Christ reveals to them the unknown grandeur of the Father whom you cannot perceive or understand except by the medium of the only Son; the Holy Spirit teaches them to render thanks with full quietude. A perfect equality then establishes itself among the Æons. The masculine Æons all become plural Nous, Logoi, Anthropoi, Christi, and the feminine Alethiae, Zoai, Ecclesiae, Holy Spirits; in their joy they celebrate the praises of the Father. In commemoration of this benefit, all, with common accord, and each contributing what is best, produce to the honour and glory of Bythos, Jesus or the Saviour, the star and perfect fruit of the Pleroma. Jesus receives equally the names of Logos, Christ, of the other Æons; angels are assigned for his escort.

However, Achamoth, daughter of Sophia, lay miserably on the outside of the Pleroma, in the void and the shade, deprived of form and light. The superior Christ, touched at her fate, clothes her with a substantial form, but without communicating science to her; then he reascends into the higher regions. Achamoth, who feels her misfortune in

being excluded from the Pleroma, and who preserves some perfume of immortality left in her by Christ and the Holy Spirit, is inflamed with the desire to possess the supreme good. She puts herself in pursuit of that light which is distant from her ; but Horus bars her way, and hinders her from proceeding farther ; in her insulation, she falls a prey to all sorts of passions—sadness, fear, trouble of mind. She experiences a warm aspiration for him who has vivified her. At times she weeps at being abandoned in the darkness and the void ; then the remembrance of that light which she has lost fills her with joy ; she laughs ; then fear agitating her afresh, she remains in consternation. Then she falls into extacy.

From these divers sensations proceeds the essence of the matter with which our world was formed. The aspiration of Achamoth produced the soul of the Demiurgos and all the souls of the world ; the rest is the fruit of her fears and her sadness. From her tears proceeds every liquid essence, from her laughing light, from her sadness and consternation the corporeal elements of the world.

Achamoth, having passed through all the passions, succeeds in surmounting them somewhat. She turns then to that light which has abandoned her, towards the higher Christ, and addresses to him ardent prayers. He sends the Saviour, accompanied by his angels ; Jesus bestows science on Achamoth, and delivers her from all her passions. After having torn them out of her heart, he mingles them, condenses them, and out of an incorporeal affection makes a corporeal matter. Thence come two essences, one bad, which flows from the passions, the other subject to the passions, which aspiration has produced. Achamoth, delivered from her passions, contemplates the luminous angels who are with the Saviour ; in that contemplation she conceives and from her is born a fruit spiritual in substance like the angels. Three substances thus come from Achamoth, the material (hylic), the animal (psychic), and the spiritual (pneumatic). From the psychic substance Achamoth forms the Demiurgos, who afterwards becomes the Creator, the Father, the King, and the God of all things in our world.

The Demiurgos wills to undertake the creation of the visible universe. But as he is ignorant what he should do, he is guided secretly by his mother with the aid of the Saviour. Under the inspiration of the latter, he expresses in his work the image of the higher Pleroma; Achamoth, unknown to the Demiurgos, represents Bythos; the Demiurgos is the resemblance of the only son; the angels and the archangels show forth the Æons. The Demiurgos, separating the psychic essence from the material, forms of the one celestial things and of the other terrestrial things. He constructs seven heavens endowed with intelligence, and places himself above them. His mother occupies a loftier place, intermediate between the Pleroma and our world. The Demiurgos also creates the wicked angels and the devils, the chief of whom, who is the devil, is called prince of the world, and sits beneath his creator (John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11, Ephes. ii. 2). The devil, however, has this advantage over him, that he is acquainted with the higher things, because he is a wicked spirit, while the Demiurgos, who is psychic in substance, is ignorant of them.

The Demiurgos makes man of material essence and psychic essence; but, without the knowledge of her son, Achamoth adds thereto the spiritual substance which she had conceived of the angels. Man is thus composed of three divers parts, material, psychic, and spiritual, the final lot of which is not the same; the first perishes necessarily; the last is always saved, to whatever crime or infamy it may yield; the psychic part, which holds the medium between the two others, shares the lot of that one of the two toward which it inclines the most. That psychic part had then need to be instructed by a Saviour, who was in essence psychic and spiritual, and took a body in order to render himself visible. This Saviour has no material principle, because matter is incapable of salvation. He passes through the body of Mary as water through a tube, without receiving anything from her, and at the time of his baptism the celestial Jesus, who is a part of the Pleroma, descends into him in the form of a dove. There are thus in the Lord spiritual essence, psychic essence, a visible body, and finally the celestial

Saviour. But the psychic Christ and the body mystically formed have alone sufferings to undergo; the celestial Saviour and the spiritual Christ fly away from the Lord at the time when he stands before Pilate. The Valentinians then divide men into three kinds—the material (*choïc*), the psychic, and the spiritual (*pneumatic*). In the second kind they class Christians who do not follow their doctrine. Those, they say, need faith and good works to obtain salvation. The Gnostics are of the spiritual and perfect kind, seeds of election who cannot perish, whatever the nature of their deeds. The disciples of Valentinus also teach that there are souls naturally good and others naturally bad—these capable of receiving the spiritual seed, those incapable—a doctrine which directly leads to the fatality of the Gentiles. The end of time is to come when the Gnosis shall have received all its perfection. Then Achamoth will enter into the Pleroma and be united with the Saviour, his betrothed. The spirituals, become intelligences, will also be finally admitted into it, to be the spouses of the angels who accompany the Saviour. The Demiurgos and the souls of the just psychics will go into the intermediate place where Achamoth sits; there they will enjoy eternal repose, for nothing psychic can enter the Pleroma. At the same time the fire hidden in the world will produce an eruption and consume all material things. The Valentinian school appears to have absorbed those of the other Egyptian Gnostics. It had numerous chiefs, of whom the principal, Ptolemy, Mark, Colarbasus, Secundus, Heracleon, formed sects in their turn, by modifying their master's doctrine more or less. Ptolemy gives to God the Father two spouses, Ennoia and Thelesia (the will). He considers the *Æons* as substantial and distinct persons, while according to Valentinus, they are contained in the Supreme God as faculties and sentiments. Mark suppresses the marriage of *Æons*. The first principle, without being male or female, creates, by the Word, manifestations of the Will. Words on leaving his mouth express beings, which are produced by the sole force of pronounciation. Mark infers that the letters of the alphabet, of which words are formed, con-

tain all possible virtues and forces. On this account, he adds, Jesus said, "I am Alpha and Omega." It is related that Mark had skill to produce certain wonders, which he gave out for miracles; thus by invocations he transformed into blood the wine which serves for the celebration of the Supper. Colarbasus differs from Mark only in recognising the influence of the stars and planets on the birth, the acts, and the destiny of men. Secundus introduces some differences as to the number and the nature of the *Æons*; of the eight principal ones he places four on the right side and four on the left. Heracleon, whom most make contemporary with the foregoing, but to whom Tertullian assigns an anterior date, enjoyed great authority. Versed in the Hebrew and Syriac tongues, he had dwelt in Egypt and the East. His followers, by an abuse of a passage in the Epistle of James (v. 14), were accustomed to anoint the dying with oil, water, and balm, in order to deliver them from the power of the higher principalities.

Divers sects of little importance are also connected with Egyptian Gnosticism. Such are the Adamites who propose to imitate the first man in his state of innocence; the Cainites who honour Cain; Esau, and even Judas, who was guilty of the treason on which depended the salvation of the world. The Abelites who preserve absolute continence, even in marriage; the Sethians with whom Seth is a figure of Jesus Christ; the Florinians who make God the creator of the wicked and the author of sin and vice. But these schools were small, and after a short existence, they disappeared scarcely leaving any trace. It is not the same with the Ophites or Serpentes, the sect of which was anterior to Christianity. A part of them embrace the gospel and their opinions subsist a long time. Independently of the Valentinian doctrines, the Ophite Christians profess the sentiment that the serpent which seduced Eve was Christ himself, author of the knowledge of good and ill. These ideas perhaps came to them from the Egyptian theology, in which Kneph or Agathodemon (the good god) had the serpent for his symbol. If you examine as a whole the doc-

trines of Gnosticism, you cannot disown the deep impress they wear of the religions professed in the countries where they were born.

Among the Gnostics of Asia you find the unknown God that was worshipped in those regions, matter eternal and bad, the antagonism of the two principles of good and evil, the seven planetary angels which created the world and govern it. They harmonise these doctrines with the data of the Old and New Covenant by supposing that the God of the Jews is one of the seven creative angels ; the law which he gave to his people proceeding from a limited intelligence is imperfect in many points. Christ, the first begotten of God, descends from heaven in order to reveal a new and better law, by which souls may escape from the power of the princes of this world and reascend to God the Father whose issues they are.

The Egyptian Gnostics equally borrow from the religious doctrines of their country, their incomprehensible God who manifests himself by virtues or powers emanating from himself. These reasonable beings cease not to be comprised in the unity of the Supreme Being, and their totality composes the Pleroma or plenitude of the Deity. The superior gods of Egypt are divided into three groups ; ogdoade, decade, and dodecade, the same as the Æons of Valentinus. Both proceed by couples. Ennoia, spouse of Bythos, recalls the Egyptian Neith. The Saviour in this land receives a large part of the attributes of Hermes. Like the latter, the superior Christ is Hermes trismegistos ; Hermes the second reappears in the inferior Christ.

Typhon is the type of the chief of the bad angels, the prince of this world. In Egypt as in Asia Gnosticism lowers the god of the Jews and represents him as agitated by a number of conflicting passions. This opinion seems warranted by the imperfections of the law and by the hate and anger of the God of the first books of the Bible, as well as by the silence of Moses on the creation of the world of intelligences. The dogma of the fall of man, taught by Gnosticism, also proceeds from the Egyptian religion whence it passed into the philosophy of Plato. The soul of celestial

origin, suffers in the body a period of banishment, after which it would return to God if it took care to purify itself in the course of life. Man's duty to the body is to provide for its own wants, but he must nourish the soul by all the vivifying doctrines which may aid it to reascend to the higher regions.

In consequence of their contempt for matter the Gnostics reject the resurrection of the body, and neglect the worship established in Cemeteries, while they religiously celebrate the pneumatic initiation (baptism) as well as the union with the celestial Saviour (the supper) a union quite spiritual in their eyes. They are organised by classes, according to their degree of instruction and perfection, and they possess a mysterious doctrine which reveals itself, successively in different degrees of initiation as in the ancient religions.

They use both particular editions of the Scriptures and of the apocryphal gospels and other books of the same nature ; but at the time of their re-appearance the same thing was practised in a great number of the other Churches. The Canon of Scripture was not yet fixed ; and they held for orthodox different works which have been since abandoned as apocryphal or erroneous. The Gnostics also try to connect their system with the text of Scripture, by seeking analogies in the gospels and the epistles ; thus the Pleroma is, according to them, consecrated by a passage in the Epistle to the Colossians (ii. 9), where it is said that in Christ the plenitude of the Deity resides corporeally ; thus also all the Æons of the first ogdoade of Valentinus are mentioned in the first chapter of the Gospel of John. Gnosticism has great repute in the countries where it is born ; but Christians converted from Hellenism hold, for the most part, to the theory of the world received by the school of Plato, and repel the approach of other oriental ideas. Now, those Christians are superior in number and influence not only in the Hellenic countries, but also at Rome and in divers lands of the Latin tongue, where the gospel begins to spread. They vigorously attack the gnostic doctrines, and end by securing the triumph of the doctrine of the fourth gospel. In vain do Marcion, Valentinus and others go into the capital

of the empire to propagate their sentiments there ; Rome and the most civilised regions of the west were under the influence of the religious and philosophical ideas of Greece, and had never any inclination for the worships of Egypt and Syria. The Church of Rome, where the Hellenic element still prevailed in the age of the Antonines, and perhaps long after, gave in its close adherence to the dogmas received by the generality of the Greek Churches.

The duration of Egyptian Gnosticism was not as long as that of the Asiatic schools ; after throwing out its light on the countries where it was born, it grew weak under the blows of the trinitarian school of Alexandria and even of Neo-Platonism. Then it vanished together with the ancient worships of Egypt. The Gnostics of Asia suffered a fate less adverse. Mosaism had long impregnated itself with the beliefs that were current on the banks of the Euphrates ; the satan of the book of Job, adopted by the Israelite populations, facilitated the introduction of the two principles of good and evil ; thus, independently of the church of Marcion, which lasted during several centuries, we shall farther on see the antagonism of these two principles reproduce themselves, with the other ideas of Persia, in the Manichean system, whose influence, extending beyond the invasion of the barbarians, prevailed during part of the middle ages and left numerous traces in the Christian doctrines and traditions of that period. The spirit of asceticism which the Buddhists had propagated in western Asia, and of which we have found a trace in the Gnostics of Syria and Asia Minor manifested itself also, as might be expected, among the disciples of the Græco-Latin Church. The austere maxims of the Marcionites and the Encratites did not lack partisans and imitators ; there ensued under Marcus Aurelius, a schism which extended into several other provinces. Montanus gave it its birth and its name.⁷ He was a new convert, by origin a Mysian or Phrygian, a man weak in mind with an enthusiastic imagination. He announces himself as the Paraclete or comforter promised in John's gospel, whom, with others, he distinguishes from the Holy Spirit which, on the day of Pentecost descended on the

assembled apostles. According to him Jesus under the name of Paraclete designated a divine envoy who would perfect the gospel by adding to it certain omitted points, and by illustrating what was obscure in others. Montanus represents himself as that comforter ; he sets up for an inspired person and throws out on all sides prophecies in support of his words. Jesus and his apostles, he says, were too indulgent toward the weaknesses of their age ; their morality needs being consolidated by the addition of more rigorous precepts. Accordingly Montanus multiplies fasts and abstinences ; he prescribes the observance of three Lents a year. Special attention to the body, the fine dresses and ornaments of women, are condemned, as also second marriages, which he characterises as illicit unions. His fanaticism proscribes the cultivation of philosophy, and the fine arts, and reprobrates the most innocent pleasures of life ; he makes it a crime in Christians to flee in the persecutions which raged then, or to buy themselves off, and he refuses to absolve those whom fear made apostatize. The austerity of his doctrines and the gift of prophecy which he assumes bring him into credit with persons of the highest position. Among his adepts are Maximilla and Priscilla, rich and distinguished women, who, like their master, declare themselves endued with prophetic inspiration, and use all their influence to procure partisans. He is aided in his work by other prophets like himself. One of them, by name Alcibiades, had figured among the Lyonesse martyrs, being distinguished for the rigorous way in which he lived (Euseb., Hist. v. 3, 16).

The pretensions of this sect to the prophetic spirit received support from the then existing belief that it had always subsisted in the church (v. 13, 17), and that it would continue till the coming of Jesus Christ. Among the prophets of the new covenant were Agabus, Judas, Silas, the daughters of Philip, and more recently Ammiades of Philadelphia and Quadratus of Athens. The prophets and prophetesses of Montanism called themselves successors of the last two. They are reproached with speaking in ecstasy and as out of themselves, when no scriptural prophet had been agitated in a similar manner.

Montanus and his disciples succeeded in founding a church in Phrygia, in the town of Pepuza, to which they gave the name of the celestial Jerusalem. Their followers are called Cataphrygians or simply Phrygians, from the name of the province where their church first began to extend. They themselves take the name of Pneumatics (spirituals) and give the name of Psychics or Carnal to the Christians who do not condemn second marriages. They boast of having produced a great number of martyrs. Their dogmas spread over all Asia Minor, in the province of Africa and in a part of Italy. Victor, bishop of Rome (185-197), allows himself to be captivated by their rigorism so far as to send them letters of approbation. Afterwards he is disabused. The most illustrious of their partisans is one of the fathers of the African Church, Tertullian, whose ardent genius inclined him to carry everything to an extreme. Provoked by contradiction, he throws himself into the arms of the Montanists. In later days he separates from them to found a more fanatical sect of which there remained some trace at the end of the 4th century.

The disciples of Montanus are excluded from Christian communion, at first by some assemblies, afterwards by the generality of the churches. Their sect breaks into several branches which gradually become extinct, not without having many minds imbued with their rigid principles. At the time when the first schools of Gnosticism arose the emperor Hadrian began his peregrinations through the different provinces of his empire. He reaches Athens (124) grants various privileges to the inhabitants, and is initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. During his sojourn there, Quadratus, head of the church of Athens, and Aristides, an eloquent philosophic convert, present to him documents defending the Christians. It was not that Hadrian had taken any step against them; but the state of things not being changed since Trajan's rescript, persecutions were frequently raised by mob orators and the illwill of governors. Hadrian (117-137), wrote to Minutius Fundanus, governor of the province of Asia and several others (Eus. iv. 9, 26), recommending them not to yield to noisy declamation or the

confused cries of the multitude, but to make themselves acquainted with the charges ; if the Christians have violated the laws, let them be punished, if the accusation is calumnious, let the accuser be chastised. These letters put an end to the intolerance of the Gentiles. But in the last Jewish war, the disciples suffer greatly in oriental lands. Barchochbas, who gives himself out for the Messiah, persecutes them cruelly in order to compel them to deny and blaspheme Jesus. Antoninus Pius (138-160) shows toward the Christians a disposition as favourable as his predecessor. He writes several times in their favour to the inhabitants of Asia and to those of Larissa, of Thessalonica, of Athens, and of all Greece, forbidding them to be punished unless they undertake something against the state, and ordering those to be chastised who should accuse them solely of being Christians (Euseb. iv. 13, 26). But the goodwill of the emperors is often powerless to suppress seditions and tumults. Popular rage against the Christians increases in the degree in which they succeed. In the last years of Antoninus the extension of their worship calls forth persecutions which are prolonged under the emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-179). Toward the middle of the second century Christianity begins to assume serious substantiality. No longer are the churches insulated and without mutual relations. Their members know and visit each other. Organisation begins. Christian society consolidates and increases every day. On the outside, the faith penetrates into Persia through Syria and Mesopotamia, and into Ethiopia through Egypt. In the interior of the empire new churches arise. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, goes to Rome to converse with bishop Anicetus (150-161) and they come to an agreement on divers contested points (Euseb. v. 24). Justin (103-167), a Platonic philosopher of Samaria, who became a convert at the time of the dispersion of the Jews, traverses under the Antonines, the regions which extend between Palestine and Rome, spreading the divine word and propagating the faith in Christ. Hegesippus, a Jew by birth, writes the history of the church, and by visiting the provinces, satisfies himself that from the east to the city of

of the Cæsars. Everywhere the same doctrine is professed. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, not satisfied with watching over the wellbeing of his Church, sends letters to those of Lacedemon, Athens, Nicomedia, Crete, Pontus, Rome. Synods assemble in different provinces, to resolve questions of faith or ecclesiastical discipline. The Old Testament is translated into Greek, the New into Syriac, both into Latin. The Greco-Latin Church was then completely separated from the Nazarenes, few in number since the disasters and dispersion of the Jews ; it is chiefly under the title of heretics who deny the incarnation of the Word and the divinity of Jesus that they are repelled. The disagreements are lost from view which existed between Paul and the saints of Jerusalem, where efforts are made to efface the remembrance of them. The question of legal observances is henceforth without importance. On one side the Nazarenes have ceased to make attention to them a condition of communion for the Gentiles who have received baptism. (*Recognitions*.) On another, apart from circumcision to which no one thinks of returning, the Mosaic prescriptions no longer astonish any one. The spirit of asceticism which is extending, the love of new ceremonies, and the growing authority of the ministers of worship, prepare, in the near future, for the Gentiles a servitude much more heavy than that of the observances of the law. The greater part, ignorant, or no longer understanding the old discussions, come to believe that there has always been an identity of doctrine between Paul and the Churches of Judea. At the time that they preserve the Pauline doctrine, they none the less think that in all respects they are the disciples of the twelve apostles. The last assume a totally new physiognomy. They are no longer the exclusive preachers to the Jews, but the instructors of the whole human race ; there are ascribed to them both the ideas of Paul and the diverse theories which circulate among the Christians of Hellenic origin. The trinitarian form of baptism is introduced into the Greek translation of the Gospel of Matthew. John, the presbyter of Ephesus, fades away to yield his place to the apostle of the same name, who thus becomes the putative author of the fourth gospel, the

declared foe of the Ebionites, those zealous disciples of the twelve, and the consecrator of the oriental doctrine of the incarnate Word, of which beyond a question he had never the least suspicion. Peter, in his turn, is carried by the legends through the Hellenic lands, then conducted to Rome, where those same legends appoint him bishop and associate him with Paul in preaching and martyrdom. In the absence of history, which furnishes nothing respecting the last days of the life of the apostles and the first disciples, the same prolific source begins to create for each of them a fictitious existence corresponding to the ideas which prevail in that period in the Platonising Church. However, the Christian faith extended into the western regions. During the captivity of Paul in Rome, his disciples had, as has been seen, preached the Gospel in Upper Italy and in Dalmatia; the apostle himself, after his deliverance, went into Spain where he came to his end. Irenaeus and Tertullian inform us that at the termination of the second century Christianity had been published in the different countries of the west, but without saying by whom, or under what circumstances. It appears to have been established as early as the first century in Africa, properly so called, and the surrounding countries. Toward the end of the second century the African Church has already reached that illustrious rank which it will continue to occupy until the incursions of the barbarians; the gospel was doubtless carried thither from Hellenic lands, which their proximity and the necessities of Commerce placed in continual relations with that province. At the same time, the faith, according to Tertullian, was carried into all parts of Spain, (*Adv. Judæos vii.*). The first remembrance of Christianity in Gaul is the narrative of the violence exercised under Marcus Aurelius against the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, (177). The Gospel had been introduced into that country about 140 A.D., by missionaries from Smyrna under the direction of Pothinus, who is regarded as the first bishop of Lyons. Other churches, in small numbers, may have risen here and there in the same period, in different provinces of Gaul; but it is not before the third century, and specially in the fourth, that Christi-

anity tended to become general in that region. There exists no appearance that the faith of Christ was carried from Italy into Spain, or into Gaul. The Church of Rome, recruited at first among the Greeks of that city, seems to have long retained tokens of its origin and to have made only slow progress in the bosoms of the Italian populations. Judging by their names we should say that the bishops of that city, during the two first centuries, were all Greeks, excepting Victor, who appears at the end of the second century with a Roman name and character. In the third century the majority of those bishops still bear Greek names; and the composition of their Church, which one would be tempted to call the Greek Church of Rome, reveals itself by the Hellenic inscriptions which one reads on the Christian tombs of the catacombs, among others, are those of the bishops Antheros, Fabian, Lucius, Xystos II., Eutychian who lived from the year 235 to the year 283. Rome and Italy seemed to have persisted with more obstinacy than the other countries, in the worship of the ancient gods, from whom they believed they had received the empire of the world. Even at the time of the taking of Rome by the barbarians (iv. 10), the Senate and the greater part of the people still hold for the pagan religion.

But in the degree in which Christianity unfolds itself, forming a distinct society in the midst of the Greek and Roman society, the imperial government lends a more favourable ear to the clamours and accusations which arise on all sides. The rescript of Trajan was still in vigour; they continue to accuse the Christians for their name alone. But in the mind of the multitude that name no longer designates only persons affiliated to secret societies; it carries with it the idea of all sorts of crime and infamy.

The disciples of Christ are represented as a faction unlawful and desperate, who assail the gods, despise the imperial majesty, and conspire against the public weal. The accusation of atheism and impiety ensues from the fact that the Christians have neither altars, nor temples, nor images, nor ceremonies, and from the other fact that rejecting the divinities of paganism, they deride their festivities, their

sanctuaries, their statues, and sometimes even in an excess of zeal, cast down the altars and the idols ; to them is ascribed the ruin of the worship of the gods, the silence of the oracles, the cessation of the sacrifices. The crimes of treason and conspiracy against the state are proved by the refusal of the Christians to pay to the emperor the honours decreed to him by the Roman idolatry, to call him God, son of God, Lord, to swear by his genius, or his fortune, to sacrifice to Cæsar, to offer him wine and incense, to take part in the apotheoses of the princes after their death. The pagans also incriminate the nocturnal assemblies of the Christians, as well as their hope of the coming of Christ, that king who shall subject all the world to his empire, which the Gentiles understand to denote a terrestrial and temporal kingdom. The mystery of the Christian meetings also gives occasion for a crowd of calumnious assertions. "That people which hides itself and avoids the light of day, says public rumour, gathers together in the lowest ranks the ignorant, credulous women, to introduce them into their conspiracy, which is cemented, not by any expiatory sacrifice, but by nightly gatherings, solemn fasts, horrible festivities. They know each other by secret signs, and love one another almost before they know each other. They call themselves indistinctly brothers and sisters, to give by that name an incestuous character to an ordinary debauch. They pay homage to the head of a consecrated ass, for what cause is not known, (the same had been said of the Jews, long confounded with the Christians) and worship the privy parts of the ministers of their religion. They adore a man put to death for his crimes. The ill omened wood of the cross rises in their ceremonies, an altar worthy of a brood covered with misdeeds. Have they to initiate some one into their mysteries, they put before him an infant covered with meal, to conceal the object which they intend. At an order which is given the neophyte dashes a knife therein and kills the infant. All then greedily suck the blood of the victim, divide its members among themselves, and thus sealing their union give each other by the consciousness of crime, a pledge of their common silence. What takes place in their festivities is not

known. They meet together on a solemn day, people of both sexes and every age, with their children, their sisters, their mothers. Then when heated by eating and drinking, and when intoxication inflames the passion of incest, they throw to a dog fastened to a candelabrum, a cake which is made to fall beyond the reach of his chain. The animal in knocking himself about, overturns and extinguishes the light, and under the favour of the darkness they embrace each other at hazard, in the transports of an abominable debauch. All are incestuous by intention if not in fact ; all lust for what can fall only to the lot of some." These odious calumnies, which perhaps were formed by recollections of what took place in certain polytheistic mysteries, seem also connected with diverse circumstances in the Christian worship, or with some expressions whose sense was misconceived or perverted. The imputation of eating flesh and drinking blood may, for instance, have for origin the symbolical words of the eucharist, according to which the blood of Jesus, the divine lamb, is drank and his flesh eaten. Here too, perhaps, is the source of the belief in the immolation of infants, as it was practised sometimes in the superstitions of magic and polytheism. The idea of debauchery and incest may have come either from the custom of salutation with the kiss of peace and fraternity, or from that of calling each other brother and sister, or from the word *agapae*, "feasts of charity," or love feasts, given to their repasts in common, and from the supposition that in those repasts as in some pagan mysteries, they gave themselves up to all the excesses of intoxication, to all the transports of religious fanaticism. It is possible, however, that these incriminations were corroborated by words from Christians themselves, who, doubtless without proof, imputed similar atrocities to some of the Gnostic sects, for the Gentiles did not distinguish between the different schools of the worshippers of Christ. The depositions of the slaves were admitted against the Christians, and use was made of words dictated by the hate which they felt toward their masters, extorted by the torture to which they were subjected. All these causes exasperate the populations. The public prejudices are carefully fomented by words

from the ministers of idolatry, by the writings of some philosophers, by the artifices of the Jews, who on all occasions shew themselves the adversaries of the new religion. The virtues of the Christians are ignored, their actions travestied. The heathen accusers throw on them all the calamities that desolate the world—famines, plagues, wars, conflagrations, inundations, earthquakes.

Especially on occasion of the public games and other religious festivities of Hellenism the assembled populace allow themselves to be carried away by all their fury. Then the disciples are prohibited to appear in the public places, in the baths, in every other spot, (Euseb. v. 1). The cry rises, "The Christians to the wild beasts!" "the Christians to the lions!" "the Christians to the stake!" The mob rushes upon them, drags them before the magistrates; if they deny they are Christians, they are absolved, if they confess, even their relatives and friends hurry away from them in horror. All kinds of tortures are put in requisition against them; they are slain, if Roman citizens, by the sword, others by the most cruel punishments. The constancy of the confessors and martyrs irritates the multitude and brings on them new outrages; their fidelity is called obstinacy, folly, despair, miserable superstition. A revival of the public hatred, we have said, took place in the last days of Antoninus Pius. The persecution continued at several intervals and in different places under the emperor Marcus Aurelius. This prince allowed himself to be influenced, it has been believed, by the insinuations of certain philosophers, who possessed his entire confidence. Did he yield to the religious ideas of polytheism which in him had been early purified? In his ignorance of the Christian doctrine, was he solely ruled by reasons of State? Whatever the fact, he, in regard to the Christians, silenced the sentiments of gentleness which were natural to him, without however making their position worse by any new edict. The rigours are not generalised, but the governors have the liberty to act as they thought suitable. Some of them exercise cruelties whether prompted by their own nature, or by condescension to the demand of a furious mob. Among the perse-

cutions endured under Marcus Aurelius, we may principally mark that of the province of Asia in the year 167, and that endured ten years later by the Christians of Vienne and Lyons in Gaul. Both took place at the time of the celebration of public games. The violence of the persecution of the year 167 shook the whole province of Asia. The Christians were pursued with more fury than ever before, (Euseb. iv. 15, 26). Then was it that Polycarp, having reached an extreme old age, perished in the midst of flames. The Church of Smyrna, which he had governed for many years, addresses the narrative of his martyrdom to the Church of Philomelion in Upper Phrygia, and to all Christian peoples. We also possess a valuable account of the persecution carried on against the Churches of Vienne and Lyons. In the number of the martyrs appear the most considerable of the disciples of the country, among others Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, more than ninety years of age, and several persons who had, like him, come from Asia Minor, one of these martyrs, Athalus of Pergamus, declaring himself a Roman citizen, the execution was suspended in order to refer to the Emperor. The reply, in agreement with Trajan's rescript, orders that those should be put to death who avow themselves Christians, and those dismissed who deny it. The Roman citizens are decapitated. The others, after undergoing frightful tortures, were tossed to the wild beasts of the circus. The narrative of their martyrdom is addressed to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia, who had sent them into Gaul. Under the reign of Marcus Aurelius Justin the martyr also perished. He was the victim of the snares of the philosopher Crescens his personal enemy.

After the war of the Quadi, a German people who inhabited the modern Moravia, and of whom the Romans became masters for a short time, (174) the emperor it is said, through gratitude, put a stop to the persecutions of the Christians, to whom he owed the safety of his army. The Romans, surrounded by the enemy in a place where they were dying with thirst, were, contrary to all hope, saved by an abundant rain which fell on their camp, whilst the barbarians were assailed and dispersed by the thunder. This

event, which was regarded as supernatural, was ascribed by the Christians to the prayers of the disciples of Christ who were in the army, and by the Gentiles, to the piety of Marcus Aurelius and to the might of his gods. (J. Capitolin, 24 ; Themistius, Claudian). Whatever may be said it does not seem that the dispositions of the prince were modified ; and in reality two or three years afterwards the martyrdom of the Christians of Vienne and Lyons took place. The government of Commodus (180-192) shews itself milder toward the Church than that of his father. Is it owing to some female influence, as has been thought, or to the disregard of that emperor for religious matters ? Any way, it is certain that there was under him no considerable persecution, but solely some insulated martyrdoms. Among the latter, we mention that of Apollonius, a man celebrated by the eminence of his doctrine and the purity of his faith. Denounced by his slave, he explains his beliefs in an elegant speech which he delivers in the Senate ; but he is none the less condemned, the law forbidding that those should be spared who do not deny the religion of Christ. The persecution of Septimius Severus belongs to the following century. The violence exercised against the Christians imposes on them the necessity of setting forth in their own defence the doctrines they hold. They present to the emperors a considerable number of apologies. Of some of them there remain only short fragments or a simple recollection, others have come down to us entire. We have already mentioned those that Hadrian received from Quadratus and from Aristides of Athens. Several were addressed to the Antonines, two among others by Justin the Martyr in the year 150 and 166, and three, about 170 by Miltiades, Melito, bishop of Sardis, and Apollinaris, bishop of Hieropolis. Athenagoras, a philosopher of Athens, who had become a Christian, composes another some years later. These apologetical writings proceed specially from Greece and Asia Minor, where the persecutions rage with most force. Egypt which counted then more Gnostics than other Christians, seems to have suffered nothing in the course of the second century, (Justin Apol.) In regard to the Latin Churches the sole apology they offered

is that of Tertullian, a priest in Africa, who wrote it during the acts of violence of Septimius Severus. There is no trace showing that Rome and Italy in these days raised their voices to complain of the imperial rigour. According to appearance they were less exposed than the eastern regions, the disciples found themselves there in a much less restricted condition. Near the end of the second century a dispute arose in the Church as to the day on which the passover ought to be celebrated, a schism is near breaking out between the Church of Rome and the Churches of Asia Minor. The Asiatics celebrated the festival on the fourteenth day of the month of March, according to Jewish usage, and three days after commemorated the resurrection of Jesus. In this they followed the Lord's example and appealed to the authority of the apostles or disciples from whom they had received the tradition. Originally all Christians without doubt acted in the same manner ; in Scripture one does not see that the slightest change took place in the time of celebrating the Passover. A different custom, however, had gained prevalence in some places, especially among the western Churches. They observed the Passover only on the eve of the anniversary of the resurrection, uniting together the two solemnities, and they fixed that anniversary on the Sunday which followed the fourteenth day of the March moon. The usage of the Asiatics had in the eyes of the Churches the inconvenience of breaking by the paschal meal, the fast of the great week, and to often cause the resurrection of the Saviour to be celebrated on another day than Sunday. Besides they found in their own custom the advantage of not confounding the festivals in honour of Christ with those of the Jews, who had put him to death, and who incessantly persecuted his Church. Different attempts were made to terminate the disagreement, when Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, visits Rome, in the time of Anicetus (153-162) he and the bishop of Rome confer together on diverse points which divide them, among others, on that of the celebration of the Passover ; they come to an agreement on all the others, without dwelling long on the latter. Each preserves the custom of his own Church ; but the two bishops none

the less remain in communion with one another ; peace is not broken by this difference.

Things take another turn when Victor is at the head of the Roman Church (185-196). To judge by the names of his predecessors, he was in that city the first bishop chosen among the Latins. He seems to have been animated by that spirit of domination of which his successors offer so many examples in the course of ages. Victor begins by asking advice of the bishops of Palestine, Pontus, Gaul, Osroene, (in Mesopotamia), Corinth, and some other countries ; all agree and declare that not to break the fast, the resurrection should be commemorated on the Sunday. The heads of the Church of the province of Asia do not suffer themselves to be intimidated by this accord. But, united under the presidency of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, they write to Victor and to the Church of Rome to defend their custom and declare that they intend to maintain it. They rely on the authority of the great lights which had died in Asia, of Philip whom they style an apostle, although he was a deacon, of his daughters, who were prophetesses, of John who had lain on the Saviour's bosom, of Polycarp and several other martyrs ; they protest that they will not yield to threats. Then the Latin Church undertakes to cut off from the body of Christians the Churches of that province as pledged to false doctrine ; it breaks communion with them, (Euseb. v. 24). But the effect of that measure restricts itself to the diocese of Rome. The other bishops refuse to follow Victor on this road. They write to him letters in which they disapprove the excommunication and exhort him to maintain Christian union, love, and peace. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, interposes and succeeds in stopping the progress of the dissension. Things remain in the same state until the Council of Nice (325) which pronouncing against the Asiatics, fixes the same day for the celebration of Passover in all the Churches. Notwithstanding this decision the majority of the quarto-decimans (Fourteen-eers) appear to have long persisted in their usage, (Soz. vii. 18, 19.)

During the period which we have just passed over in this chapter, the Sacred Scripture is the sole rule of belief. The

interpretation of it is left to the assent of all the members of the Church ; no authority imposes itself on the Christian assemblies. In the state of independence in which they live the opinions which prevail in one place are not always received in another. Thence proceeds a sensible diversity in the estimates of the teachers, and the mixture, even in the most authorised writings, of certain opinions which at a later time passed for erroneous.

From the middle of the second century, you see appear more and more a tendency to borrow from the religious and philosophic opinions, as well as from the rites and usages of different Pagan nations. The Church increases day by day ; adepts come into it in a crowd. But those successes are not without peril for it ; they contribute to lessen the purity of the faith and the simplicity of the worship. The Gentiles, in taking on themselves the Christian name, do not leave behind entirely their old ideas on divine things ; they introduce them more or less into the doctrines of Christianity. Authorities habituate themselves to make them speak the language of the religions and the philosophies of antiquity. Worship was accompanied in Hellenism with numerous ceremonies, which seemed to form an essential part of it ; new Christians, still imbued with the same notions, endeavour to reproduce them in the religion of the Gospel. The effects of this tendency, already sensible in the period of which we speak, goes on increasing afterwards until they at last lead to a veritable fusion of the two worships.

The opinions of the Nazarenes and the Gnostics are not the only ones which the Greco-Latin Church has to oppose in these times. There bursts out in its bosom even a great number of dissidences, of which the greater part proceed either from difficulties inherent in the theory of the incarnate Word or from the introduction of the trinitarian dogma. All the doctors of the second century agree in saying that the Christians worship only one God, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He is in reality the unique God that Jesus announced under his character of kindness and compassion, whom the primitive apostles preached

among the Jews, whom Paul made known to the nations ; the same God that you find in the gospel of John, under the figurative and symbolised expressions of which the author takes his pleasure in making use. But the multitude who erroneously interpreted the phrase Son of God having undertaken to divinise Jesus, the learned in their turn take pains to decompose and recompose the divine unity, under the influences of the theories of the East and of Greece. The centre of the Christian Church, during the four first centuries, is in the bosom of the Hellenic countries, where the doctrines of Plato bear sway in an almost exclusive manner ; all the Greek fathers are nourished in them ; through them those doctrines make their way into the metaphysics of the new religion. But Plato, instructed in the sanctuaries of the East, had adopted of their theory on God only that of the Word and of the Triad or Trinity. The same method of view is at the end of the second century found in the majority of the Greek or Latin Churches, The Fathers of that period, placing themselves between the pure divine unity of the Apostolic times and the multiplicity of the emanations of the Gnosis, resolve the unity of God only to bring into it the Word and the Trinity, and expound the gospel of John by the dogmas of Platonism. The explanations which those Fathers give on the Word and his incarnation are far from being clear and precise ; their terms more than once contradict the doctrines which prevailed at a later day. But the difficulty for them is not to discourse on the nature and functions of the Word ; on that point they are at liberty to borrow largely from Platonic sources. The task becomes harder when the question is to show how that Word became flesh, in the proper sense, how the man Jesus is God, to take the expression literally. According to Justin, Jesus Christ is the Word of God clad in a form and made man (1 Apol. 5). The Christians call him the Word of God in the same manner as others give that name to Hermes (22), Christ was at the same time body, word, and soul (2 Apol., 10). The Church loves and worships that second God, born of the increate and ineffable God (13). The terrestrial Hermes of the

Egyptians, man and god, the incarnation of Hermes, *trismigistos*, that is, of the divine intelligence or divine word, seems in effect to have been the type according to which was formed the Christ of the Platonising communions, and on that point evidently Gnostic. Thus the Valentinians made use of the gospel of John in which they find a certain number of their *Æons* with the incarnate word of Osirisism. Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, Tertullian, all, like Justin, put forth on the Word and his incarnation propositions which the orthodoxy of posterior ages will declare more or less unsound. However, it is only in the last quarter of the second century that most of the Greco-Latin Churches begin to receive the doctrines on the word and on the divinity of Jesus, still confused and ill directed ; the narratives of the martyrs of Polycarp and of the disciples of Vienne and Lyons do not give to Jesus the title of god. The Church of Rome, according to the assertion of the Alogi, repelled the Christotheism down to the time of Bishop Zephyrinus (A.D. 203, Euseb. Hist. v. 28). As soon as the opinion of the deity of Jesus made its appearance, a number of voices are heard to contradict it. This opposition, which will be seen to continue through the third century, will greatly contribute to the convocation of the Council of Nice, and, despite the resolutions of that synod, the struggle will none the less continue under one name or another until the imperial edicts, the intrusion of Polytheism into the Christian religion, and the ignorance of the barbarous ages put a stop to all discussion on such matters.

At the head of the contradictors of the Christotheism that arise at the end of the second century there are distinguished, namely Theodotos of Byzantium, Artemon, Theodotos the banker, Praxeas, and Nætos. Theodotos of Byzantium, a man of knowledge and talent, although he had, it is said, carried on the craft of a tanner, openly maintains, in the last years of the century, that Jesus is a mere man, but without denying that he is conceived by the Holy Spirit. In the midst of the obscure and incomplete notions that have come down as to his opinions, it seems

he taught that a certain virtue had, at the time of his birth or his baptism, descended into Christ, who none the less preserved his purely human nature. Theodotos goes to Rome to spread his doctrine, and then Bishop Victor sunders him from the communion of his Church.

Artemon, at the same time, professes an opinion which has much analogy with the preceding, as far as can be learnt in the absence of very positive documents. The followers of these teachers, called *Theodotians* or *Artemonites* by their adversaries, receive also the name of *Alogoi* or *Alogians* as rejecting the Logos or Word. They affirm that belief in the deity of Jesus was introduced only in the end of the second century; while their doctrine was held by the ancients and the apostles.

These dissidents reject the gospel, the epistles, and the Apocalypse of John, which they deny to be the work of the apostle of that name. They were, it is said, well versed in the sciences and in philosophy, and admirers of Aristotle and his school, who had furnished them with arms against Plato's Word (Euseb., v. 28). It is not impossible that the debate was agitated between different sects of Greek philosophy under the cover of Christian doctrine.

Among the disciples of Theodotos of Byzantium figures another Theodotos, a banker by profession. He not only represents Jesus as a simple man, but also places him below Melchizedek, head of the order according to which Christ was a priest. According to this Theodotos, it is the mediation of Melchizedek that ought to be invoked, in his quality of the first minister of the everlasting priesthood by whom men have access to God. The partisans of this opinion are called *Melchizedekians*. A doctrine which differs little from that of Theodotos of Byzantium is defended by Praxeas, an able man, who had suffered for the Christian faith. Come from Asia to Rome about the end of the second century, he first assails the Montanists, and causes the letters of communion which Bishop Victor had given them to be recalled. But it is not long before he shows himself a dissident. He teaches that the Father is the only God, the sole creator of all things, and rejects the personifi-

cation of the divine Word. This doctrine brings on him violent persecutions. But he has disciples full of zeal, who are called *Monarchians*, because they admit no distinction of persons in the Deity. Their adversaries call them also *Patropassians*, as if they had said that the Father was united to Christ and had suffered with him. In the time when Praxeas publishes his doctrine in the West, a similar system is produced in the East by Noetus, bishop of Smyrna. We do not know with entire certainty the opinions which the two professed. There remain traces of their teachings only in the writings of their antagonists, who seem less disposed to throw them into relief than to discredit them by the force of ridicule. It is, however, reported that, summoned before them by the heads of the Church of Ephesus, Noetus replied to them, "What evil have I done? I glorify only one God, I know only one God, and no other who has been begotten, who has suffered, who has died." These words repel the idea of confusion between the Father and the Son. He knows only one God, the Father. He gives to Christ the name of Son, without accounting him God. If he admits that the divine thought was revealed to him, it does not follow that God is substantially united to Jesus, that he was born and suffered with him, as the heresiologists suppose that Praxeas and Noetus announced. The idea of the Triad or Trinity which passed from the oriental theosophies into the dogmas of Platonism was generally admitted by the ancient nations; they agreed in recognising the triplicity of the First Cause. The number three, which was called the archic (imperial) number, was accounted sacred among them. Philo, in his conciliating tendencies, took care not to disown it; he grants that God shows himself three and one to the illumined soul. But the sight of God under a triple aspect is, he says, peculiar to those who, not having yet received the last initiation, cannot understand God except by his acts of Creator and Master, while the entirely purified soul rises to the simple and perfect idea of unity. Thus did the opinion of the pre-eminence of the number three slip into Christianity; the pagans, in becoming converted, brought the Trinity with

them. It shows itself first by the new form of baptism which is interpolated into the Greek translation of the first gospel (xxviii. 19). The Fathers of the second century mostly limit themselves to the repetition of the three terms of that formula. In them, no more than in the verse of the gospel, does the trinity appear constituted as it will be in the following generations. Justin, a former pupil of Platonism, says indeed that the Church worships the Father, the Son, and the prophetic Spirit, but he sees in them three unequal principles, and not three consubstantial persons. Theophilus of Antioch is the first in whom the word trinity appears (about 175 A.D.), but by this term he, like Justin, means God and two principles emanating from him ; his trinity consists of God, his Word, and his Wisdom. Athenagoras, a philosopher who has become a Christian, speaks with more precision, without, nevertheless, departing from the doctrine of Philo. He acknowledges God the Father, God the Son, and the Holy Spirit, all three united and distinct in the unity (x. xii). The Son is the Intelligence, the Word is the Wisdom of the Father, the Spirit is an effusion, as light is of fire (xxiv).

Tertullian considers in some sort the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as three absolutely distinct personifications, who are not summed up in one and the same unity. All the Fathers seem to announce individual opinions, which procure a certain number of adherents, rather than a doctrine recognised by the Church at large. Without doubt, there is in them the principle whence the Trinity will proceed afterwards ; but the theory is in germ ; much time and care are required before it can be completely elaborated and received by the majority of the Christian communities. The question of the Trinity was less urgent at the time than that of the Deity of Jesus. This had been born in the bosom of the multitude, and demanded a prompt solution ; the other interested only the adepts of Platonism ; it will remain in the second stage until the end of the fourth century, when official consecration will be given to it. The Fathers of the second century who occupy themselves with spiritual substances are much less explicit on the good

angels than on the bad. God, they taught, had confided to the angels the care of men and of things of this world (Just. 3 Apol. v.), that is to say, that reserving to himself the general direction, he had left to them the administration of the different parts (Athen. 24). But the angels having, like men, the free option of good or evil, some remained faithful, the others not; the unfaithful angels organised themselves for evil under a chief called the Serpent, Satan, or the Devil (Just. 1 Apol. 28).

After having deserted the care of the things confided to their ministry, those malicious angels became enamoured of women, and procreated the giants (Just., Athen. 24, 25), cast out of heaven never to return thither, they inhabit, under the name of devils, the regions of the air and the earth, where they cause all sorts of trouble and confusion. They travel with the swiftness of the bird; all the earth is for them one and the same place. They represent themselves as the authors of what they announce. Often does evil come from them, good never; they have learnt the designs of God by the revelations of the prophets, and they apply themselves to their frustration (Tertull.). They are worshipped by the Gentiles in their divinities; the human race has been reduced into servitude to them by magical arts, by the terror of punishments, by the institution of sacrifices which they get offered to them (Just. 2, Apol. v.). They hide themselves under the statues and images of the gods, inspire the diviners, inhabit the temples, animate the fibres of the entrails of the victims, direct the flight of birds, determine lots, pronounce oracles, mixed with lies. Thus are men turned away from the worship of the true God, troubled in their lives, disquieted in their sleep; the demons slip secretly into human bodies, engender maladies, contort the limbs, give the soul violent and disorderly emotions, for the purpose of compelling men to pay them worship (Minutius Felix. 27). They feed on the blood of the victims and on the odour of burnt flesh which exhales from the altars, and seem to cure the evils which they themselves have caused.

But these evil spirits yield to the ascendancy of the Chris-

tians ; adjured in the name of Christ, they confess that they are demons, and quit human bodies, whence, too, they are driven by the torture of words and the fires of prayer. (Id.)

The devil is accounted the father of all iniquity ; he is the instigator of the persecutions carried on against the Christians ; from him proceeds all worship paid to pagan gods, princes, and dead men (Tertull.). Satan and the army of his angels will continue to the end of the world to seduce and torment the human race ; but, on the day of the last judgment, they, with wicked men, will be hurled into the everlasting fires. These details on the fall of the angels and their different occupations are never found in the mouth of Jesus or his apostles ; they seem borrowed from Platonism and the ancient religions. We must not lose from sight the fact, that at this time belief in magical arts was generally spread abroad in the Roman world ; no one questioned these miracles and prodigies ; but the idolators ascribe the miracles of Christians to magic, while the latter referred those of their adversaries to the operation of evil spirits. Christ and his disciples taught nothing on the nature of the soul, or on its condition after separation from the body. They satisfied themselves with declaring that the righteous would possess the kingdom of heaven, and that the wicked would be punished in the infernal regions. This, properly speaking, is all that it concerns men to know, as well as all they can comprehend. But others have not been willing to stop there ; the silence of Scripture has been supplemented by opinions and doctrines current in the ancient world. Platonism rejected the corporeality of the soul ; but it was admitted by other schools. It seems to have been received by Tatian and Irenæus. According to the latter, the soul is incorporeal only by comparison with the body ; none the less does it preserve the personal figure of man so that the individual may be known.

Tertullian is still more explicit, he discovers the corporeality of the soul in the Scripture itself ; the parable of the wicked rich man furnished him with his materials. Nevertheless, the soul in his eyes is not of the same nature as the

body ; it has a certain kind of substance and solidity which renders it capable of passion and suffering. The gospel having spoken only of the judgment which will take place at the end of time (Matt. xxv.), it was held that there must be a particular judgment for each one at the hour of death ; whence the question : What becomes of men's souls down to the time of the universal judgment ? Tatian and others believe that the soul dies at the same time as the body, to afterwards rise with it. But the most common opinion perpetuates the existence of souls which it sends into a particular place to remain there until the end of the world. "At a man's death," says Tertullian, "the soul goes down into hell, that is, into an immense subterranean cavity, on the lower abysses. All souls remain shut up there until the day of judgment ; they will not be carried up to heaven until the sound of the trumpet of the archangel. In their transitory sojourn, they nevertheless suffer, or are rewarded according to their merit ; for, while awaiting the judgment, they rejoice or are gnawed in heart." These subterranean regions are divided into two parts ; one contains the souls of the wicked ; the other is called "Abraham's bosom ;" placed between the former and heaven, it serves as a general asylum for the righteous. This opinion of the early Christians as to the abode of souls in subterranean places, divided into two compartments, came to them from the Jews, by whom it was borrowed from Mazdaism. It is, nevertheless, admitted that some of the righteous, such as apostles and martyrs, have the privilege of going to heaven straightway after their death. The souls of other believers, received into the bosom of Abraham, endure there no suffering ; but they do not enjoy the beatific vision or everlasting felicity. The Church then addresses prayer to God, entreating him to succour and console them in their thirst after supreme beatitude, and to hasten the moment of their full deliverance by the consummation of all things. They also beg of him to show himself merciful toward those who died in sin, and to admit them into Abraham's bosom, where they will be free from pain and grief.

The precarious state of souls, in the expectation of the

universal judgment, must have pre-occupied the first Christians the less because they looked upon the end of the world as near. The twelve apostles had hoped to see during their life time the re-establishment of the kingdom of Israel. Paul without fixing the time exactly, adjourned the end of the world until the day when the gospel should have been preached to all men and antichrist had come. But that antichrist the disciples were disposed to acknowledge in all the successive tyrants and persecutors of the Church. At first Nero was designated by the name. Later on, according to certain verses attributed to the Sibyls, it was believed that the world would end at the death of Marcus Aurelius. Tertullian, while declaring that the end of time, with its preceding calamities, is suspended by the course of the Roman empire, announces that that end is at hand, and that the nations will see the Lord appear in the clouds sooner than is imagined. Another opinion which seems authorised by the Apocalypse, stated that the general resurrection would be preceded by a partial resurrection of the righteous, who, during a thousand years, would reign with Christ on the earth, in the enjoyment of all the good things of this world. This belief in the approaching end of the world and in the reign of a thousand years comes from an ancient tradition of the Jews, which limited the duration of the world to six thousand years. Christ was to come at the end of the sixth thousand, and reign for a thousand years in Jerusalem. The notion is founded on the statement that God after having created the world in six days rested on the seventh. Now a thousand years being as a day in His sight (Ps. xc. 4), six thousand years' duration for the world corresponded to the six days of the creation. The seventh thousand, filled up by the reign of Christ, would, as the seventh day of the creation, be a pure Sabbatism, that is a time of repose, peace, and happiness, during which every thing on earth would undergo renewal.

At the time of the publication of the Apocalypse, the Jewish tradition was held by a great number of Christians; its twentieth chapter became the principal basis of the opinion of the Millenarians. It teaches that at the end of

six thousand years, the gospel having been spread over all nations, Antichrist will come to persecute the righteous, Jesus, descending from heaven, will slay him, his and his crew, re-establish Jerusalem, and reign there for a thousand years with the risen believers: this is the first resurrection of the Apocalypse. At the end of the seventh thousand, liberty will be restored to Satan; he will raise the nations against Christ, and they will come and besiege Jerusalem. But God will exterminate those impious wretches, and when that is accomplished the end of the world will come involving the general resurrection and the last judgment. The opinion of the Millenarians seems to have borne sway over the second century; it is professed by Papias, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian.

In the government of the Church at the end of this century, we find in existence superintendents, (bishops) elders, (presbyters) deacons and deaconesses. But time has occasioned changes in the functions of these ministers, especially in what concerns the superintendents. In the apostolic times this title was given indifferently with that of elder to the directors or guides of the churches. In the degree in which they become of greater importance there is a necessity of conferring on one of the presbyters a kind of presidency. The name of bishop is then reserved for him who exercises that charge; he is also called *the angel* (or messenger) *of the Church*. His pre-eminence, introduced by the need of order, does not, at first, give him a character different to that of the other presbyters. But things soon change their appearance. At the end of the second century, the Episcopal power has increased in a sensible manner.

The bishop governs with the concurrence of the presbyters. They form together a college or corporation which is called presbyterial. Certain churches consult also the elders of the people or laymen, but solely in grave circumstances. The deacons are required to honour the presbyters before whom they appear standing. Divided into several classes according to need, they bestow care on prisoners, paupers, the sick, widows; serve the tables, distribute the eucharist to the

people, carry to the absent the consecrated bread and wine. The deaconesses share with the deacons the duty of succouring and consoling confessors and the afflicted. They instruct female novices and prepare them for baptism, and take part in the ceremony when they are immersed stripped of their clothing. After the dispersion of the Jews (135) the opinion begins to spread that the ministers of the Christian worship have succeeded to the priesthood of the ancient law. The disciples by degrees grow used to assimilate the bishop to the High Priest, the presbyters to the priests, the deacons to the Levites.

The nomination of the bishop and the priests took place by election, the suffrage of the people or the elders of the people was taken. The consecration or benediction of the elected officers was by the imposition of hands on the part of the bishop and the presbyters ; it is considered as done by the former. The churches are at first independent the one of the other, being united solely by the bond of love. But after the second century, the usage is introduced of uniting in Synod the churches of the same province, to determine on difficulties relative to doctrine, discipline, and other objects. Ordinarily each community is represented in the Synod by its bishop. This observance increases the Episcopal power, to the detriment of the rights of the people. The bishops, who at first act as simple deputies from the churches come at last to speak as masters, declaring that they hold from Jesus Christ, the power to impose rules on faith and morals. The presidency of the Synod being habitually devolved on the bishop of the metropolis, he obtains a pre-eminence over the heads of the other churches. The ecclesiastical government has that of the state for its model. In later days the principal cities of the great territorial divisions established patriarchs who are above simple metropolitans, and in the capital of the empire a prince of the patriarchs. But at the end of the second century there exist only provincial Synods ; and the churches of the same province form a distinct body independent of all other authority. About the same time the simplicity of Christian worship tends to be lessened by the adoption of various usages

and rites borrowed from idolatry. People take pleasure especially in imitating the ceremonies of the Hellenic mysteries which are held in so much veneration among the Gentiles. They even give the name of mysteries to the sacraments of the Church, more especially the Supper. As yet there are no more festal occasions than the Lord's day, Passover, and Pentecost with their previous evenings (vigils, *parasceves*). Nevertheless they celebrate the commemorations of the martyrs, which take place on the anniversary of their martyrdom. The usage had for its origin the funeral orations which the Gentiles pronounced over warriors who died in battle. On these occasions the disciples meet in the cemeteries ; the eucharistic table is supplied at the sepulture of the martyrs ; the life and death of those soldiers of Christ are read, in order to honour their memory, and to excite the hearers to follow their example. But there mingles in these ceremonies no idea of worship or invocation to these Christian heroes, (Euseb. iv. 15, *in fine*). All the interval between Passover and Pentecost is a period of festivity and is passed in the pleasures of holy joy.

Independently of the solemn meetings on the Sunday, there are in divers places gatherings on the Saturday, especially in oriental countries. Besides, there are stations or prayers till the ninth hour (three in the morning) on the fourth day of the week on which Christ was betrayed, and the sixth, when he was affixed to the cross.

The meetings are held secretly in private houses, in caves or caverns. The hour varies, according to circumstances. Most frequently it is in early morning. The deacons and the deaconesses announce the place and time. The bishop or a presbyter presides. Those present engage in prayer, in the reading of the scriptures, in sacred songs, sometimes exhortations are given, or censures pronounced. Finally comes the Lord's Supper. The prayers are offered standing on the Sunday and the days of religious solemnity, on the knees on Saturday, and fast days, and vigils. In prayer, the face is turned toward the east, the head is bare, the eyes raised to heaven, the arms are extended so as to recall Christ on the cross. God is implored on behalf of

the newly baptised, the penitents, the catechumens, and also the Emperor and the State. The songs are composed of hymns, canticles, odes, and psalms.

The prayers and the songs are the only sacrifice that is offered to God ; he is worshipped in spirit and in truth. Collections are made for the poor, the sick, the widows, the orphans, as well as confessors that are in exile or in prison. Public censures are pronounced against scandalous sinners. The day of the martyr's death, which is called their birthday, is commemorated in the cemeteries after public prayer, and before the eucharist. At each meeting, those that are present give each other two kisses, one of fraternity, the other of peace ; one at the end of the prayers which precede supper, the other after the observance of that rite. From the oblations of bread, wine, and other things made by the worshippers that is first taken, which is necessary for the celebration of the supper, or for the agapae or "feasts of charity ;" the surplus is distributed to the poor. The usage of the agapae or common repasts had been introduced in imitation of the festivities which accompanied the sacrifices among the Jews and the Gentiles. Their object was to cultivate brotherly sentiments, and to aid the poor who took part therein. In apostolic times they took place in the evening, and before the supper ; afterwards, they were celebrated in the morning, after the eucharistic ceremony. They are observed in the place of ordinary Christian gatherings. Rich and poor came together without distinction, except that the men were on the one side, the women on the other. A prayer is said before the guests place themselves at table ; they eat according to their hunger ; they drink moderately ; pious readings are given ; the company converse as in the presence of God. The repast terminates with another prayer. The supper or eucharist (feast of gratitude), which is designated also under other names, is celebrated on the Sunday with greater solemnity. It is also observed on the fourth and the sixth day of the week, after the stations ; some even communicate every day. The ordinary custom is to take the supper on an empty stomach in the morning meetings ; only those

are admitted to the supper who have undergone baptism. In the eucharist, as in the agapae, leavened bread is used ; the wine is mixed with water. The bishop or the presbyter that presides, after rendering glory to the sovereign Creator of all things in the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, puts up in glowing words the eucharist or thanksgiving for the blessing that comes from the divine munificence ; all the people reply *Amen* ! The deacons make distribution to the worshippers, who receive it with their hands—bread and wine with water, over which the benediction has been pronounced. On other occasions, after the acts of worship, each person takes his own bread and wine from the sacred table. It is optional for you to consume your portion at the moment or to carry it home to take it there when convenient. The absent and the sick are not deprived of their share ; it is taken to them either by a deacon or by a third person, who asks for it in their name (Euseb. vii. 9 ; vi. 43, 40 ; Just. 1 Apol. 65 ; Tertull. to his Wife, 4, 5). Baptism is nothing else in principle than a sign of adhesion to the messiahship of Jesus ; it is administered without confession of sin as a previous necessity (Acts ii. 41 ; viii. 12, 13 ; xvi. 33 ; xix. 5).^{*} Among the Gentiles, as with the Jews, ablution preceded every religious act ; the usage was frequent, especially in the Hellenic mysteries. Christian baptism being considered as the initiatory act of the new law, efforts were soon made to introduce into it the rites observed on initiation into the sacred mysteries, and to ascribe to them similar effects. Adults, before receiving it, are subjected to a preparation not only as to doctrine, but also for practice in the Christian life. They are afterwards admitted into the class of catechumens by the imposition of hands ; in that state, they remain a longer or shorter time, which varies according to the occasions. On the approach of the day of baptism, the aspirants prepare themselves for it by prayers, kneelings, fasts, and by the mental confession of sins (Tertull. Penit.,

^{*} Compare Matt. iii. 6.—The ablutions seem to have been symbolical of spiritual purity if not also of spiritual prolificness.—*Translator*.

ix.). At the moment of receiving it, they renounce the devil, his angels, and his pomps.

Baptism may take place at any time, but the most solemn is given on the day of the Passover or of Pentecost. Baptism is celebrated anywhere—in the sea, in rivers, in fountains, in prison, in private houses, and even in bed. Baptism is administered either by the bishop or, with his permission, by the presbyters or the deacons. In cases of need, any Christian may, in their absence, perform the rite ; but this privilege is not extended to women. The catechumens, men, women, and children are immersed in the water, the body being entirely naked ; the modesty of the women is safe-guarded by the presence of the deaconesses. Sick persons receive baptism in their beds by aspersion : the immersion or aspersion is repeated three times with the invocation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, according to the formula substituted for that of the apostles.

Other ceremonies are, in later days, added to the primitive simplicity of the Christian initiation. On quitting the water, the neophyte is anointed between the shoulders, on the breast, and all over the body (as for the athletes who are preparing for the struggle). Honey and milk mixed together are eaten (a symbol of new birth in the ancient mysteries). Hands are laid on him with the invocation of the Holy Spirit on his person ; the whole church puts up prayers to heaven on behalf of the new child of God. As time went on, the belief established itself, that baptism (as initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis) cleanses from all anterior sins. Hence it comes to pass that the novices defer receiving it for a long while, and sometimes till the hour of death, with the object of a thorough remission.

During the first ages, baptism is administered only to adults ; but as it was the custom in Hellenism to purify children immediately after their birth, the custom gains prevalence at the end of the second century of giving baptism to infants for whom godfathers and godmothers became sponsors. Tertullian speaks against this method of acting, which he regards as an abuse : " Why," he says, " so eager

to recur to the remission of sins in an age yet innocent" (Bap. 18). This father does not seem to suspect original sin; it was recognised in the Church only about two centuries later. In baptism then, Christians, in the opinion of those times, receive absolution of their past sins. But as it is not given to all to keep themselves pure and perfect, public penitence opens a way of salvation to those who lie under the guilt of gross crimes, such as idolatry, homicide, adultery, or fornication. By such acts culprits incur the reprimand of the chief ecclesiastical officers. If they are touched by the admonitions and prayers, they ask for chastisement; if they appear promising, it is granted by the imposition of hands. This corrective method is conceded only once; it is refused to the relapsed and the obstinate. The chastisement is attended by public confession or the avowal of the crime in the face of the Church. The culpable resort to it of their own accord or are constrained to it by the reprimand and the fear of expulsion. In a wider sense, the title of confession is given to an apparent state of humiliation in which sinners live with all the external signs of repentance, dejection, tears, fasts, supplications. The duration of the chastisement or penitence varies according to the transgression, the condition of the guilty, the greater or less rigour of the churches. Penitents are excluded from the eucharistic communion, their oblations are not accepted, their name is not uttered in the Church. Afterwards, when necessary, a more rigorous discipline forbids them to be present at the public prayers and preaching.

Penitence is followed by absolution and reconciliation. The most solemn absolution is given publicly in the presence of the Church. The penitent asks pardon of the bishop, the priests, all the disciples; then he is prayed for and receives imposition of hands. The reconciliation of offenders takes place preferentially in the time which immediately precedes the Passover. About the close of the second century there come into view other rites and usages, imitated for the most part from practices of the Gentiles or the Jews, such as vigils, pious meditations, abstinence, fasts,

festival days, white clothing. Fasting was free in the times of the apostles and their immediate successors. After the example either of the feast of expiation among the Jews, or fasts observed by the Gentiles, there was introduced before Passover a solemn fast, whose duration varied according to the country, the times, and the persons ; many Christians fast also on the fourth and the sixth day of the week, but only at the end of the stations. This abstinence does not take place in the interval between Passover and Pentecost, a time of solemn joy. Already the usage exists of prayers and offerings for the dead. In them supplications are put up for the souls of the righteous set apart until the day of judgment, the termination of that precarious state, the appeasement of their desires, and their admission to celestial beatitude, the divine compassion is also besought for the souls of sinners.

As a means of mutual recognition the Christians make on their forehead the sign of the cross on entering or leaving a place, in dressing, in entering a bath, at table, in bed, on lighting torches, on taking a chair, and on a number of other occasions. Besides the dominical Agapae, others are celebrated at births, marriages, funerals. Other customs are observed here and there, according to the difference of peoples and places ; though innocent in themselves, they sometimes degenerate into abuses in following ages.

The entire law of the Christians is the observance of piety toward God and goodwill toward men. Subject to the public authority in external things, they refuse to offer incense to the prince, to swear by his genius, to give him the name God, and divine honours. They rigorously forbid each other to be present at the public games and in the theatres ; those festivities were consecrated to the divinities of Polytheism. Moreover, some festivities, such as those of Flora, Venus, Bacchus, excited to voluptuousness and debauchery ; others disposed minds to ferocity, such as the gladiatorial combats and the combats with animals. The believers also abstained from putting crowns of flowers on their head because in the ceremonies of Hellenism, the idols, the priests, the guests of the sacred

festivities, and a great number of attendants were crowned with flowers.

The Christians ceaselessly converse on sacred truth. They flee, stopping their ears, when they hear impious or blasphemous words. On many an occasion, common prayer is made ; for instance, with your brother, on his entering your house, with the foreigner whom you have come into contact with, with the guest who eats your bread, and, after the prayer, the kiss of charity is given ; the more zealous add to the prayers, hymns, and psalms. In the ordinary relations of life, the disciples of Christ do not distinguish themselves from other inhabitants of the country. They follow the same customs in regard to dress, food, and other common things. Every alimentary substance is open to their use ; they refuse nothing that God has made for men, solely guarding against excess and abuse. They unite in marriage solely for the procreation of children ; they reprove second marriages, and regard them as a sort of adultery. There are few opulent persons among them ; the majority live in indigence ; all are eager to succour each other. They visit the poor, the sick, the afflicted, the prisoner. They study to practise hospitality, beneficence, and all the reciprocal duties of life. The continual prospect of martyrdom makes it a necessity with Christians to keep themselves in a state of innocence ; they fear God and not the Proconsul (Tertull).

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE END OF THE SECOND CENTURY TO THE COUNCIL OF NICE (200-325).

SUMMARY—Persecutions : Septimius Severus, Maximin, Decius, Gallus, Valerian—Progress of Christianity—Apostles of Philosophy—Apollonius of Tyana—Neoplatonism : Ammonius Saccas, Plotinus—Platonising Christians of Alexandria : Pantenus, Clement, Origen—Schism of the Novatians—Baptism of Heretics—Millenarianism—Anti-Trinitarian Christians : Sabellius, Paul of Samosata—Manicheans—Monachism : Paul, Antonius, Hilarion, Pacomius—Last Persecution : Diocletian, Galerius, Maximin—Constantine Emperor—Schisms of the Meletians and Donatists—Arianism—Council of Nice—Doctrine, Rites, Discipline.

THE tranquillity which the Christians had enjoyed under the reign of Commodus is interrupted in the tenth year of Septimius Severus (202 A.D.). That prince, who had treated them well till then, changed his sentiments toward them at the time of his war with the Parthians (202). Different attempts at rebellion made by the Jews in Syria and in Palestine cause him to issue an edict which forbids, under rigorous penalties, any one to embrace the Mosaic religion ; the same interdiction extends to the worship of the Christians. The edict limits itself, it is true, to forbidding the Gentiles to pass over to the religion of Christ ; but in the execution it is carried further, and it becomes a signal for a persecution which rages in Egypt, in Africa, in Italy, and in other parts of the Roman Empire. During its course, Tertullian presents his *Apology*. Among the principal victims are, at Alexandria, Leonides, father of Origen, at Rome Bishop Victor. Some authorities add Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons. The Churches of all countries have combats to sustain, but the number is greater on the banks of the Nile than in any other place. "From all the parts

of Egypt and the Thebaid," says Eusebius, "they bring to Alexandria, as into a vast battle-ground, chosen athletes, who, after having suffered with indomitable courage all kinds of tortures and deaths, go to receive from God immortal crowns." The persecution rages till the end of the reign of Severus (211), but without having always the same intensity. You even see provincial governors who abstain from exercising any rigour. Origen said that, before the reign of Decius, the number of those who had at divers times suffered death for the Christian religion was not considerable and easily counted. After the death of Severus, the Christians remained in peace during twenty-five years. Caracalla, occupied with other cares, leaves them full liberty. Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus (218-235) show a friendly feeling in regard to them. The first had conceived the design of reducing all forms of worship to that of his god Heliogabalus or the sun, into whose temple he wished to transfer the rites of the Jews as well as the ceremonies of the Christians; he had the greater hope of converting the latter because they prayed with their face turned toward the east, like the worshippers of the sun. As for Alexander Severus, he placed over the altar of his household gods with the portraits of the best princes, those of the most virtuous and holy men, such as Apollonius of Tyana, and according to a contemporary author Christ, Abraham, Orpheus and others; he is said to have had the intention of erecting a temple to Christ, and to place Him in the rank of the gods. Mammaea, his mother, during a sojourn at Antioch, sends for Origen who explains to her the truth of the evangelical preaching. The favour which Alexander had granted to the Christians brings upon them, on the part of his successor, a persecution which is neither general nor of long duration, policy is its cause rather than religion. Maximin persecutes the friends and the servants of Alexander, of whom a great number were Christian; he specially attacks the heads of the Churches, whom he regards as their pillars; his severities, however, do not extend into all the provinces. The Gordians leave Christianity in peace (237-44) Philip is openly favourable to them. It has in-

deed been said, but without sufficient proof, that he was a Christian himself. Under his reign, nevertheless, the believers of Alexandria are exposed to a popular persecution, which soon ceased in civil troubles. The Christians are cruelly treated under the emperor Decius (250). That prince, otherwise possessed of great virtue, shows himself their implacable enemy ; he was, it is said, very attached to polytheism ; but, as with Maximin, it is less from superstition than from hatred of his predecessor that he persecutes the Church, (Euseb. vi. 39). It must be acknowledged, the Christians, by their number, their zeal, and their organisation, formed a powerful association which the imperial authority was compelled to respect in future. Decius wages on them a war of extermination ; in the edicts which he sends to the Governors of the provinces, he accuses them, as always, of being the cause of the public calamities. The passions of the multitude and the zeal of the magistrates, second only too well the intentions of the prince ; the Christians are everywhere tortured and put to death. The terror is extreme ; some pale and trembling, lack force whether to die or to sacrifice to the idols ; falls and apostacies are frequent. But others give striking examples of courage and constancy. The number of martyrs cannot be counted, although the persecution ceased in the second year. It rages principally against the ministers of the Church. Among the victims Fabius, bishop of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, Alexander of Jerusalem, stand foremost. Others, such as Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, Gregory of Niocæsarea, Dionysius of Alexandria, retire into different places until the end of the reign of Decius. Origen, laden with years, is thrown into irons and subjected to the most cruel tortures ; like a crowd of others, he owed his deliverance only to the emperor's death.

The persecution is renewed under Gallus (251), but with less force. The ascent of Valerian to the imperial throne restores peace to the Church (253). That prince is at first full of equity and gentleness for the Christians ; he even admits a great number of them into his palace. But in the year 257, circumvented by the artifices of Macrinus, he

adopts violent measures. First the heads of the Churches are sent into exile ; Dionysius of Alexandria and the members of his clergy are relegated to Cephion ; Cyprian of Carthage to Curubis ; some are sent to the mines. All the ministers of the Church are threatened with death ; the senators, the illustrious men, the knights are despoiled of their dignities and their property, and in case of persistence punished with death ; matrons are exiled with the loss of their goods. The persecution is felt in all places—in Egypt, in Palestine, in Asia, in Africa, in Italy, in Spain ; Cyprian of Carthage is one of its most illustrious victims. At the same time perish the Bishops of Rome, Lucius, Stephen, Xystus II., who succeed each other in martyrdom as on the episcopal seat ; Laurentius, deacon of Xystus, is, it is said, placed on a gridiron and roasted over a slow fire. The captivity of Valerian puts an end to the executions. Gallienus (254) revokes the edicts of his father (259). The Christians live at peace under his reign, as under that of the Emperors Claudius (268-9), Aurelian (270-74), Tacitus (275), Florian (276), Probus (276-81), Carus (282, 283), Curinus and Numerianus (284). It is, however, said that Aurelian passed edicts against them in the latter days of his life ; but before they had reached the provinces the Emperor was no more (275). Diocletian (284), who had protected the Church during eighteen years, set in action against it in 303 the most terrible attack that it had had to endure. We shall speak of it by and bye with some detail. Despite the different persecutions, Christianity does not cease to extend from day to day in the provinces of the Empire and in the circumjacent regions. During the long intervals of peace, which passed away from Septimius Severus till Decius, and from the capture of Valerian and the edicts of Diocletian, the number of the disciples increases ceaselessly in the ancient churches, and new communities are formed in all countries. A whole province of Arabia becomes Christian at the voice of Origen. In Greek and Oriental lands, the multitude of the Christians is such that by their constancy alone they weary the pagan tyranny, and compel it to confess itself vanquished. Equally do the

regions of the Latin tongue see the religion of Jesus grow stronger and stronger. The faith shines illustriously in Africa proper and in Mauritania. At Rome the number of the disciples augments without doubt, but not in proportion to the inhabitants of that immense city; the senate and the greater part of the people remain faithful to polytheism. The Church of Milan begins to throw out rays of light in Upper Italy; in Spain, progress continues without interruption; in Gaul, the churches founded at Vienne and at Lyons by missionaries from Asia Minor, serve as a point of departure for the extension of the Gospel: nevertheless its progress is slow down till about the middle of the third century; at that time there still exists only a small number of churches in Gaul. Without entirely admitting the legendary narratives of Gregory of Tours or Dionysius of Paris, Trophimus of Arles, Paul of Narbonne, Saturninus of Toulouse, Gatian of Tours, Stremonius of Clermont, Martial of Limoges, we may believe that the Church begins then to unfold itself in those provinces; but there still remains much to be done for the following century when Martin de Tours, the great propagator of the faith in Gaul, will send forth his light.

In the midst of this progress and these reverses, the elaboration of the dogmas of the Greek Church pursues its course. This is specially true of those of the Word and of the Trinity. Notwithstanding the eminent men which they may still boast of, Ephesus and Asia Minor have ceased to be the principal workshop of this development. It is transferred to Alexandria, the centre of the intellectual movement of the day, the gathering-point for the philosophies and the religions of Greece and the East. There, in face of the Jewish school of Philo, gnostic communities and communities of reviving Platonism, open the school of trinitarian Christians; there are heard the words of Clement and Origen, there the rival opinions of Arius and Athanasius receive their form. But before we address ourselves to the Alexandrine Fathers, it is desirable to report in a few words what was the state of the Greek philosophy, whose influence on the teaching of the Church was so considerable.

We saw in the Introduction that that philosophy, Plato's especially, had in Hellenic countries become the real religion of enlightened men. Like Pythagoras, Plato had studied the doctrines of the priests of Egypt and of the East. But his philosophy, set free from oriental mysticism, strove not to openly offend received opinions, and confined itself in the interior of the schools, without aspiring to reform the public worship. Nevertheless, its simple extension purified religious ideas. The priests of the mysteries had not mixed it with the doctrine which they communicated to the initiated. Under the first Cæsars, divers philosophers traversed the cities of Greece and Western Asia, haranguing the people, and recalling them to the practice of sound morality ; such are Euphrates of Tyre, Demetrius the Cynic, Musonius, Artemidoros, and several others. Many of them made their way to the capital of the empire. But the liberty of their language displeased the existing despotism. They were several times driven from Rome under Nero and under Domitian. Vespasian himself expelled them, except Musonius, whom he honoured with particular esteem.

Among those philosophers, Apollonius of Tyana would stand in the first rank, were there not serious doubts as to what Philostrates related of him about the year 220. Was he a purely imaginary person ? Was there in reality a philosopher of the name of Apollonius to whom a miraculous existence was ascribed ? However that may be, his history passed for real in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. Nicomachos, Victorianus, and Sidonius Apollonaris wrote of him with Philostrates for their authority. Then the Gentiles set him up as a rival of Christ by placing the miracles of Apollonius above those of the prophet of Nazareth. A product of the imagination, or a legend amplified by Philostrates, the narrative is any way an indication of the disposition of the Greeks to employ philosophy for purifying the beliefs and the institutions of polytheism ; in the two first ages of our era, these tendencies show themselves especially on the part of the disciples of Pythagoras and Plato. Plutarch, Apulæus, Cronius, Numenius, are philosophers who do not give themselves up solely to the specu-

lations of science, but endeavour also to introduce it into the current mythology and the actual observances of worship. Nevertheless, no remarkable result of the effort appears before the beginning of the third century. Until then, the Greek philosophy scarcely leaves the schools. At Alexandria, its different sects employ their strength in combatting each other in the institute of the Ptolemies, without taking thought of the movement going on around them. The Jewish school of that city, continuing the work of Philo, mix with Mosaism the doctrines of the East and of Greece. That of the Gnostics attempts a fusion of Christianity and the Egyptian theosophy. That of the Alexandrine Fathers, founded by Pantenus and Clement, draws inspiration chiefly from the Platonic spirit, and restricts the oriental influence to the limits of the gospel of John. Platonism is in some way threatened with complete absorption by these different schools. They all follow a then general tendency towards syncretism, which takes pains to harmonize divers beliefs and opinions ; but each school assumes for the work a different basis. Philo takes his stand on Mosaism, the Gnostics on the gospel of John, and on the old gnosis, the Alexandrine Fathers on the books of sacred Scripture, interpreting the fourth gospel by the Platonic doctrines rather than by the oriental theories. In the midst of this movement, which increases ceaselessly, the Greek philosophy seems on the point of perishing when Ammonius Saccas comes to its aid. Born at Alexandria, of Christian parents, Ammonius consecrates himself to pure philosophy, but without showing hostility to the faith of Christ. About the year 193, he opens in his native city a school whose lessons are attended by several Christians, Origen among others. No writing by Ammonius having come down to us, his doctrines are not known except by the testimony of his disciples. He received the title of Inspired of God. "He was the first," says Hierocles, "who attaching himself to what is true in philosophy, and transforming the divers beliefs, established harmony between the doctrines of Plato and those of Aristotle, in what they have that is essential and fundamental." His labour of concordance and transformation,

however, has for its principal support the dogmas of Platonism.

Ammonius still taught in the year 243. His most celebrated disciples among the Gentiles are Longinus, Herennius, and Plotinus.

Born in the year 205 at Lycopolis in Egypt, Plotinus, after studying under different masters, who did not satisfy him, places himself under the instructions of Ammonius, whose lectures he attended during eleven years. He goes to Rome in 244 and founds a school of philosophy, whither flock persons of the highest distinction. Surrounded by general esteem he retires into Campania, and dies in that province in the year 270. The writings of Plotinus form fifty-four treatises, which Porphyry collected and divided into six enneades (collections of nine each). Here specially you may find the Neoplatonic doctrines. Plotinus has doubtless reproduced the teachings of Ammonius; but his imagination was too ardent and his spirit too enthusiastic not to have added something of his own.

Neoplatonism sums up and blends together all the essential elements of the Greek philosophy. To the theories of Plato it adds the precepts of Aristotle, of Zeno, and of the other schools; alone is the materialism of Epicurus excluded. But the Alexandrine eclecticism does not stop there; according to the general spirit of the period, it draws from Oriental sources, and their mysticism is brought into contact with Hellenic thought. After the manner of Plato and the ancient theosophies, Plotinus conceived of the divine principle under a threefold aspect. His trinity consists of God, Intelligence, and the universal Soul. To God, or the First Principle, he gives the name of The One, as summing up in himself the unity of all things; he calls him also The First, The Good, The Absolute.

God, considered in himself, is simple, indivisible, immovable in his absolute unity. Eternally perfect, he begets eternally, and what he begets is eternal, but inferior to its Generating Principle.

God, or the Simple One, begets immediately Intelligence (Nous), or Multiple One. He produces the Intelligence as

the sun produces the light—by mere radiation ; that which radiates is not separated, but solely distinct from the First. This generation takes place without movement, without will, without consent ; the Intelligence escapes as a pure light ; and this emanation does not disturb the perfect quietude of the Generating Principle.

Intelligence is the Word and the Image of God. He contemplates God eternally ; He sees God without being separated from him, and without there being any intermediary between them. He cherishes his Author, and is necessarily attached to him. There is between them no other distinction, unless that they are two—the Father and the Son. Considered in himself, or as the Multiple One, Intelligence is the principle and the centre of ideas, the summit of the intelligible world, which comprehends the ideas of all that possesses being here below ; the particular intelligences subsist, with their own proper character, in the Universal Intelligence, before expanding into souls and into nature. Begotten by the First Principle, or The One ; Intelligence, or the Second Principle, begets in his turn the third or the Universal Soul, which is at once like and inferior to the Intelligence whence he proceeds. The Soul is the Word of the Intelligence. He is the Intelligence himself producing himself on the outside. The Soul gravitates around the Intelligence which he contemplates, as the Intelligence gravitates around the One. The last essence of the Intelligible World, the Universal Soul, is indivisible and inseparable by his nature ; but he divides and separates himself in his action on the sensible world. The Universal Soul comprises in himself all the multitude of particular souls. Those souls co-exist eternally in his bosom, and subsist there in a distinct manner as to themselves and as to their Principle, before going forth to shed themselves on the visible world. Proceeding from the Universal Soul, in and by that Soul they exist ; they resemble rays which, confounded in their focus, become distinct as they become distant.

The Intelligence and the ideas, the Universal Soul and the particular souls, compose the intelligible world. The

Soul serves as a link between the two worlds, the intelligible and the sensible ; he transmits the intelligible light to the material reality. The world is the external act, the Word in some sort of the Soul, as the Soul is the Word of the Intelligence, as the Intelligence is the Word of God. The Universal Soul is a reason, as long as he limits himself to contemplating the Intelligence ; when he creates the sensible world he becomes a power. Then the pure reasons or ideas which the Soul had collected in his contemplation are by him transmitted to matter, and unfold into generative powers, into seminal reasons.

The Intelligence produces without quitting himself, the Soul with movement. Time is the image of Eternity, as the Soul is the image of the Intelligence. Time is the Soul's mode of action, as Eternity is the mode of life of the Intelligence. The movement of Heaven is circular, because that movement is the most perfect symbol of the Soul's action.

Creation is immanent and continual ; to create and to preserve are blended in one and the same act, simple and eternal.

Just as the Universal Soul irresistibly tends to spread without, so the particular souls, which subsist in it, tend to spread into bodies to produce there a form and a life which are peculiar to each. Thence comes what is called the descent or the fall of souls. That descent is a necessity of their nature, and not an accident. Souls, in quitting the intelligible world, go first to heaven ; there they take a body, through which pass those which descend lower than the celestial regions. All souls begin by illuminating the skies ; some fix themselves there in an irrevocable manner ; the others only leave there their purer rays and descend into sublunar bodies with enfeebled light ; then they proceed into the lowest beings, on whom they shed the last sparks of that light.

The soul of the world is at once Providence and Destiny ; providence in the government of souls, destiny in that of bodies. The organs of Providence are called gods ; the organs of Destiny are called devils. Man is composed of three principles—the soul, the body, and the animal prin-

ciple ; this last is born of the relation of the two others, and holds the middle point between them.

The soul is not corporeal ; indivisible in itself, it divides in that it communicates itself to all parts of the body. It is not contained in the body ; it is rather the soul which contains the body.

The soul does not perish. After the death of the body it re-enters into the bosom of the universal soul. Human nature is at once bond and free ; free as to the soul, which voluntarily obeys the action of providence ; bond as to the body which undergoes the law of destiny. The end and the hope of human nature are not to free themselves from the evil with which it was primarily sullied, but to possess good and to become God. It succeeds therein by love and extasy or absorption in God. The Spirit then transforms itself, and, so to say, makes itself one with the divine essence, as if they had a common centre ; by this concurrence they are one, and two when they separate. Extasy is the only process by which God allows himself to be seized. It is in God only that the soul is conscious of its own divinity ; by extasy it arrives at the perfect knowledge of itself. Words fail to describe the ravishment of the soul in God. That ineffable felicity is not of this world. Happiness here below would consist in the perfect life, were it given to man to attain to it ; the virtuous man is happy in proportion to his virtue. You find in Plotinus a collection of explanations which embrace the principal points of the Greek mythology. It brings forth, when the occasion presents itself, the truths hidden under the myths. Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter are the one, the intelligence, and the soul. The mutilation of Uranus by Saturn represents the sundering of the primitive unity by the generation of intelligence. Jupiter, who dethrones Saturn, is the soul who replaces intelligence in the government of the world ; the Demiurgos who rules over created nature. The reign of Saturn figures eternity, the supreme perfection. The reign of Jupiter is that of time and movement. Rhea is nothing else than matter, the nurse of beings whose duration is transitory. The generation of Venus by Jupiter expresses the produc-

tion of individual souls by the universal soul. Pandora is the world itself created by the concurrence of all the gods. The three Parcæ or Fates are the symbol of the work of destiny. Plotinus does not seem to have occupied himself with religious practices and ceremonies ; he never speaks of theurgy, and believes only in the virtue of pure contemplation for arriving at God. While taking pains to harmonize his theories with Hellenism, that philosopher does not think of combatting the Christian religion. His sole object is to set forth and confirm the Greek thought in relation to the other doctrines which divide the world among themselves. Nevertheless he wrote and caused his disciples to write against a Gnostic sect, which had spoken ill of Plato. But in regard to the Greek Church, he did not degenerate from his master's good-will. In Egypt that church, like Plotinus, combatted the doctrine of the Gnostics, and like him drew inspiration from the teachings of Ammonius Saccas. At Rome, where the last part of the existence of Plotinus passed away, Christianity does not seem to have then shone with a lustre great enough to make the polytheists conceive serious apprehensions. The office of assailing the Greco-Latin church will fall to the successors of Plotinus ; Porphyry will not be slow to engage in the task. At the same time that Ammonius instituted the Neoplatonic doctrine, the trinitarian Christians founded in Alexandria a school which was to bring about the assimilation, already commenced in other places, of the philosophy of Plato with the Hebrew and Christian tradition.

During the first half of the second century, the philosophers in becoming Christians, had, as we have said, brought the tribute of their dogmas to the new religion ; thence came the baptismal formula of Matthew and the allegorical Logos of John. This tendency had always continued, specially in Greece and Asia Minor, as is testified by the writings of Justin and Athenagoras, among others. Something analogous took place in Alexandria of Egypt. In that city, where lived the doctrines of the east, the Gnostics had, in the days of Hadrian, acquired an incontestable preponderance over the Christians of the Greek Church, whom

they disdained as simple and gross people. It was urgent for the Christians to react against them ; the task belonged to the most instructed, that is, those who had frequented the schools of Hellenic philosophy. The work is undertaken in the early years of the Emperor Commodus (180) by Pantenus, a Christian philosopher who had long nourished himself in the doctrines of Zeno. He makes himself celebrated by explaining the dogmas of religion both by writing and speaking ; but none of his writings having survived, we cannot precisely state what he borrowed from philosophical ideas. Clement, who succeeds him in the year 190, having come over from Platonism to Christianity. After having traversed Greece, Italy, the East, Palestine, and Egypt, he is ordained priest in Alexandria ; on the departure of Pantenus, he is put at the head of the school of catechumens of the city.

Imbued with the Platonic theories, Clement transfers them into Christianity. According to him philosophy was with the Greeks as the law with the Jews, a preparation for evangelical instruction ; philosophy led them to righteousness until the coming of Jesus Christ. This father does not attach himself, in an exclusive way, to this or that sect of philosophy ; he seeks the truth wherever it is to be found, and more than once inspires himself with the morals of the Stoics. Plato, however, is the master whom he preferably consults ; he holds that Plato in many things preluded to the Christian doctrine. But when Clement has recourse to Hellenic philosophy, it is, according to him, by the title of restitution and not of borrowal. In his opinion the Old Testament is the source whence that philosophy flowed, he finds striking analogies between them. It had already been said of Plato : "It is Moses speaking the language of Attica." Nevertheless, philosophy being born in Greece long before the time of the Version of the Seventy, it is not credible that Plato ever heard the Hebrew scriptures spoken of ; but both had been initiated into the mysterious science of Egypt ; thence doubtless they drew the identical ideas that have been found in their writings. However, Clement often makes use of Plato as a means of explaining the

doctrines of Christianity. When, for instance, that philosopher speaks, in his letter to Dionysius, of God, the supreme master, cause and principle of all things, then of the second and of the third God, Clement exclaims, "I can understand these words only of the Holy Trinity ; the third God is in my eyes the Holy Spirit, while the second is the Son, who creates all things by the will of the Father." It is also according to Plato that he explains the divine word, and adopts divers other beliefs, such as the life of the stars, the pre-existence of souls, the missive given to the angels to send human souls into bodies, and to receive them when they leave those bodies, to conduct them to judgment and thence to the abode appointed for them. While combatting the doctrines of Valentinus and the other oriental sectaries, Clement does not think of refusing, for the Christians of his church, the name of Gnostics, which, in his time, was held in honour in the Egyptian provinces. But he admits a true Gnosis, which he distinguishes from the false. His adversaries are the men of that false science, against which Paul warned the disciples. The portrait which he draws of the true Gnostic is that of the perfect Christian of his church.

It is from a motive of the same nature that he gives to the ceremonies of worship the name of mysteries, so revered among pagan nations. After having spoken of the licentious festivals of their gods, he exclaims in speaking of the Christian initiation : "O holy mysteries ! O pure light ! the torches flame before me. I see the heavens and the Deity. I become holy by initiation ; the Lord is the interpreter of the sacred ceremonies, who marks with a sign the illumined mystic, and who recommends to the Father him who believes, in order that he may be preserved in the ages." Thus the word mystery passing from the ancient religion to the new, "the mysteries of Christ" came to be a current term, like the mysteries of Isis, of Ceres, or of Mithra. In principle it is necessity which led the Christians to celebrate their worship in secret, and to admit to it new converts only after successive trials. When the persecutions cease the mystery continues by the force of habit, and also

because it seems to give the worship a more holy character. It would have been regarded a profanation to perform the ceremonies in presence of persons who had not received the initiation of baptism. In the same manner the Christians adopted the expressions and the rites of the ancient mysteries. The three principal works of Clement, his *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, his *Pedagogue* and the *Stromata* (Varieties) correspond to the three degrees of the ancient mystagogues—the lustration, the initiation, and the epoptée or revelation of the most secret things.

The persecution of Septimius Severus compelling him to quit his school, Clement retires into Cappadocia, where he takes care of the church of a bishop, then a prisoner for the faith. After the death of the Emperor he returns into Egypt, but without resuming the instruction of Catechumens, whom he finds confided to the care of one of his disciples, Origen namely, whose renown soon eclipsed that of his master and of all the anterior Fathers.

Origen was born in Alexandria about 185. In his youth he attends the instructions of Clement, who, with the principles of the faith, teaches him history, mathematics, and oratory. Leonides, Origen's father, was put to death in 202 in the persecution of Severus, leaving a widow and seven children whom the confiscation of his property reduced to extreme distress. Origen, the eldest of the family, is succoured at first by a rich and noble woman, who treats him as her adopted son. At the age of seventeen he gives public lessons in grammar, and supplies his own wants. However, the fear of persecution occasions a universal flight; no one taught the Christian religion. Some Pagans asked Origen to explain to them the Holy Word. His first disciples were Plutarch and his brother Heraclas. Encouraged by Origen's success, Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, charges him with the instruction of Catechumens. The new catechist was then eighteen years of age. In the course of the persecution he acquires great celebrity by the good offices he renders to the martyrs. Known or unknown, they are all assisted by him in their captivity, their trial, their execution. The fury of the multitude

often throws him into the midst of the greatest dangers. The number of his disciples increasing daily, he gives up instruction in Belles Lettres to occupy himself entirely in the instruction of Catechumens. His austerity brings around him a great number of men of culture and merit, who, converted to the faith, distinguish themselves by their courage in face of the persecutors ; many perish in the punishments inflicted, among others Plutarch, Serenus, Heraclides, Hero. About this time Origen is led to an act which has been judged differently. Taking too literally a passage in Matthew (xix. 12), he has recourse to an extreme means of delivering himself from the passions of the flesh. Under the episcopate of Zephyrinus (197-217), Origen visits the Church of Rome, whence he soon returns to attend to the school of Catechumens in Alexandria. He associates with himself Heraclas, a learned man, versed in philosophy. Crowds of instructed persons come, drawn by his reputation, to test Origen's skill in sacred letters. Dissidents in great numbers and illustrious philosophers hear him assiduously with the view of being initiated in the Hellenic philosophy, as well as in the doctrine of the Church. He was equally profound in both. This testimony is rendered to him by philosophers themselves. Porphyry says of him : " He enjoyed great renown with the masters of science. He had been one of the hearers of that Ammonius who, in our time, advanced philosophy so greatly." In his morals Origen lived as a Christian and in opposition to the requirement of the laws ; in his opinions on things in general and on God he Grecised and mixed the Hellenic doctrines with foreign fables. He was ceaselessly with Plato. Every day he turned over the leaves of the writings of Numenius, Cronius, Longinus, Aristophanes, and even those of Moderatus, Nicomachus, and others, whom he regarded as the chief Pythagoreans ; he also read the books of the stoic Cheremon and of Cornutus ; there he learned the method of explaining the mysteries of Greece allegorically, and he made use of his acquirements in expounding the Jewish Scriptures.

The application of Origen to philosophy and to profane

letters does not slacken his zeal for the study of the sacred writings. He learns Hebrew in order to read them in that language. The version of the Seventy and the other Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures he published in two editions, which are known under the names of the Tetrapla and the Hexapla. In the midst of his labours he finds himself compelled to leave Alexandria, whose inhabitants Caracalla has massacred. He retires to Cesarea in Palestine (215). The bishops of that region manifest great respect to him. Although he is not a priest, he is requested by them to expound the divine Scriptures publicly. Bishop Demetrius, who becomes jealous of Origen, recalls him by letters, and sends deacons of Alexandria to press his return. Origen resumes his functions. Shortly after he betakes himself into Arabia on the request of a governor who desired to become acquainted with the principles of the faith. Under Alexander Severus he is called to Antioch by Mammaea, the emperor's mother, who wishes to test that knowledge of divine things which all the world admires in Origen. About the same time he undertakes his commentaries on the sacred scriptures at the earnest solicitation of Ambrosius, whom he has brought over from the Valentinian sect to the faith of the Greek Church. That friend ceaselessly stimulates him and generously furnishes the expense. Seven secretaries, relieving each other by turn, write under Origen's dictation ; he occupies a similar number of copyists. Those studies are suspended by a journey into Achaia. On his way through Palestine he receives the quality of presbyter from Theoctistes, bishop of Cesarea, and from Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem (228). Demetrius is irritated at this act, which he regards as an assault on his authority. On Origen's return he calls together two synods of Egyptian bishops. In the first the new presbyter is deprived of his functions of catechist and driven from Alexandria, in the second he is declared fallen from the priesthood.

Origen leaves the direction of his school in the hands of Heraclas, and takes refuge in Cesarea of Palestine, where Theoctistes receives him with great kindness. On the

death of Demetrius Heraclas who is called to succeed him, hands over his functions of catechist to Dionysius, also a disciple of Origen (232). Fifteen years later this same Dionysius replaces Heraclas as bishop of Alexandria. Both show themselves full of esteem and affection for their old master. Nevertheless you don't see that under their episcopate the synodal decisions against him are revoked, or that Origen manifests the intention of returning into his native place. Yet has he only to congratulate himself on his sojourn in Palestine. The bishops Theoctistes and Alexander listen to him as a master and will confide to him only the care of interpreting the Scripture, and of instructing the disciples. Firmilian, bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, does not show less kindness and deference for Origen ; now he invites him into his province for the utility of the Churches, now he goes as far as Judea to pay him a visit, in order to obtain a greater acquaintance with divine things. During the persecution by Maximin (235) Origen seeks shelter under this same Firmilian of Cappadocia. He there composes his book on *Martyrdom*, which he dedicates to Amboise and to Protocletes, presbyter of the Church of Cesarea, both of whom are exposed to great perils. Maximin being dead, Origen makes a second journey to Athens, where he writes several works ; he afterwards resumes his religious instruction in Cesarea of Palestine. His lessons attract not only the inhabitants of those provinces, but also a crowd of disciples that flock to him from the most distant lands. Among the latter are Theodorus known under the name of Gregory, and his brother Athenodorus. Both attend Origen's school several years, and make such progress in the sacred word that on their return into Pontus, their country, they are, though quite young, raised to the functions of the Episcopate. Both become eminent afterwards. Athenodorus by his martyrdom and Gregory by his zeal and by his miracles which gain for him the title of Thaumaturgus. Origen is called to oppose divers doctrines which appear in his neighbourhood. Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, maintained that the Saviour had nothing of his own before he took a human body, that he was not God of himself, but by

the Deity of His Father who dwelt in him. A great number of bishops assembled in Synod. Origen, sent for by them, enters into conference with Beryllus, whom he brings over to the opinions admitted by the other bishops. In the same country some persons profess that souls perish with the bodies to return to life like the bodies at the time of the resurrection. Origen, in a numerous synod, succeeds in causing this belief to be abjured by those who had embraced it. With equal success he attacks by word of mouth and by pen the heresy of the Helcesaïtes, which had sprung up afresh, and stops in the East the progress of the Apellites against whom he enters on discussions from city to city.

Under the reign of Decius the persecution which raged in Palestine (251) strikes Origen in Tyre whither he had retired before that time. He is thrown into a dungeon, his body is loaded with chains, his neck girded with an iron collar, he remains for several days in handcuffs which are tightened as much as possible. He is continually threatened with being burnt by a slow fire. Every effort is made on his aged body to torture him to the utmost without putting an end to his life. The noble-hearted confessor exercises the same constancy as he had animated others with. Dionysius of Alexandria, his former disciple, writes a book on martyrdom and addresses it to him in order to console and sustain him. Origen does not recover his liberty till the end of the persecution. He dies at Tyre in 254, broken down by torture, exhausted by age and labour. Origen's writings are very numerous. "No other Greek or Latin author has written so much as he," says Jerome, "and no one can read as much as he has written." But the greater part of his works is lost. Among those that are extant there exists only a certain number in the original Greek: others are known to us only in Latin translations, due for the most part to Rufinus, and some to Jerome. These are frequently inexact, especially those of Rufinus, and the inaccuracies were purposely committed by the translator with the object of concealing or attenuating certain opinions which seemed heterodox, according to the ideas which were current at the end of the fourth century. In

order to restore the true thought of the author, it is necessary to consult sometimes either those of his works which we possess in Greek, or even the Platonic doctrines which Origen systematically mingled with the doctrines of the Christian religion.

His works may be divided into two parts, one comprises the methodical treatises, such as the book on Principles and the book against Celsus ; the other the writings that are expository of Sacred Scripture. These last consist of homilies uttered in public, scholia or short explanations of several detached points, and of special commentaries on divers parts of Scripture. The commentaries and the homilies embraced all the books of the Old and New Testament ; but the greater part perished long ago. Origen searches for a triple sense in the sacred books, the literal or historic, the mystic and the moral. Most frequently he passes from the literal sense to the mystical, and from the mystical to the moral ; sometimes, however, he inverts this order, and neglecting the letter, he goes from the moral sense to the mystical. He is not the first author that introduced the allegorical explanation into Scripture. The Therapeutæ, Aristobulus, Philo the Jew had long previously applied it. The Greeks had recourse to it for their polytheism. The mystagogic spirit was generally spread in Origen's day. He himself yielded to it the more willingly because before him different examples of it had been given among Christians. Without speaking of certain parts of the New Testament and especially of the Epistles of Paul, where you find more affinities with Philo than one, we may mention among other Fathers, Theophilus of Antioch, a commentator of the four gospels, and Melito of Sardis, author of works on the Apocalypse. But no one before Origen had undertaken the interpretation of all the Scriptures. He carries boldness to the point of denying the historical reality. We may consider him as much for the immensity of his work as for his profound erudition and his fertile imagination, as the veritable founder of allegorical or mystic theology. He surpasses those who preceded him, and leaves far behind him those who come afterwards. His masterpiece in this kind of composition is his commentary

on "the Song of Songs:" the burning paintings of a thoroughly carnal ardour transform themselves into pure outbursts of a soul smitten with the Word of God, into mutual transports of love for Jesus Christ and his Church. Independently of the authority of the ancient examples Origen himself indicates what necessity leads him to the allegorical system. "There is," he says, "in the Scripture, a crowd of things which taken to the letter, appear false, absurd, contradictory or inadmissible; the mystical explanation alone makes them worthy of God, and protects them against the attacks of the adversaries of the Christian faith." This in effect it was which principally called forth the objections of Celsus, and other philosophers. If Christians threw into view the turpitudes and infamies imputed to the gods of Hellenism, the philosophers and the priests of the Gentiles in their turn exhibited what appeared to them incredible, ridiculous or monstrous in the sacred Scriptures.

Did Origen go to an extreme in his system? Was he prodigal in allegories? These are questions which his contemporaries do not appear to have asked themselves. The extent of his erudition, and the fecundity of his genius seduced and misled every one; during more than half a century, students hastened from all sides to his lectures, bishops made themselves his pupils; and there where he was, no one was venturesome enough to explain the Scriptures to the disciples. What we should blame is perhaps less the abuse which Origen made of allegory than that method of interpretation itself. If you arbitrarily substitute an allegorical sense for the literal, if at will you suppress the historical truth, it is easy to find in the Scriptures all that you seek after with the aid of this system or that. In the exercise of your imagination you soon succeed in bringing forth from the same text the most contradictory things; there is nothing stable, nothing real, everything changes its sense and its nature; and indeed you create a religion different to that which the sacred books really teach. No adversary appears to have risen against the doctrines of Origen while he lived, unless you consider as such some dissidents, such as the Marcionites who rejected all mystic

interpretation, or bishop Demetrius, who yielding to irritated self-love, if not to jealous envy, was carried to sad excesses against that doctor whom he had for five-and-twenty years employed in the instruction of catechumens. Origen being dead, all the incriminations come to an end ; his opinions are propagated in the Greek world by the multitude of disciples of every age and every order whom he had instructed during fifty years in Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Achaia ; no attack was made on his memory before the time of Diocletian ; then solely Methodius, bishop of Tyre, discusses some of his assertions in the treatises which he publishes on the Resurrection, on the Pythoness, and on free will. But he is soon forced to recall his words ; no one so to say takes his part, so great is Origen's celebrity and the esteem which he enjoys in the Christian world. The finest eulogium that could be pronounced on a Churchman was to call him an Origen. His renown maintained itself entire down to the dissensions raised by Arianism. We shall see how it then lessened among the consubstantialists or Athanasians, who at last openly combatted a certain number of his doctrines.

To form a just appreciation of Origen's work, we should judge him according to the opinions admitted in his own age, and not according to those which had been held by posterior generations. During half a century he was the Catechist of his contemporaries. He made himself heard in the different countries of the east and of Greece, with the approbation of the bishops, in the midst of a numerous course of disciples, among the multitudes assembled in the temples ; no voice uttered a protest in the Church. His teaching then really reproduced the beliefs of the Christian trinitarians ; he marched on a road where all were eager to follow him.

He was at a later time reproached with borrowing too freely from philosophy, especially the philosophy of Plato, to in some sort introduce the Academy into the Church. But in his age such was the tendency of the greater part of the Greek Church, and Philo had set an example of this tendency before Origen. Was not the word of the gospel of

John understood by the fathers of the second century in the same sense as the Platonic word? Was it not according to the theories of Platonism that they tried to constitute the trinity? Was not Pantenus, the founder of the Christian school of Alexandria, a Greek philosopher? Did not Clement, Origen's master, teach that philosophy was with the Greeks a preparation for the gospel? Did not he indicate that science is the surest way of getting to Christianity?

Origen went farther than any one else into that system. In this relation as in allegorical interpretation, he surpassed all his contemporaries. What is there astonishing in this if his knowledge was greater and his genius more vast? It was not in his nature to stop midway. But in proceeding farther than they, he did not deviate from the line traced by his predecessors. In speaking of Gnosticism we said that sacred Scripture was mute on many points for which the ancient theosophies offered solutions, and that thence the Gnostics got the thought of mingling the oriental spiritualism with the Christian faith. These same voids existed for the Grecising Christians; was it not natural that the majority should, in order to fill them up, have recourse to Greek philosophy, and principally to Platonism, which replaced with them the mystic science of the Orientals? "There are things," writes Origen, "on which the apostles taught all the world what appeared to them necessary, leaving the care of seeking for their reason to men who should receive abundantly the gifts of the Holy Spirit; there are other things of which they said that they were, but without indicating their nature and their origin, wishing to furnish to studious persons and friends of wisdom an occasion of self-exercise and of showing the fruit of their genius." In the number of the things which the apostolic preaching had not explained, he counts the following:—Are God and the several members of the trinity corporeal or not? Was the Holy Spirit created? Is he God's son? What is the origin of the soul? Does it spring from generation, or does it produce itself on the outside of the body? What is the origin of the devil and his angels? What is their mode of exist-

ence ? "It is taught," he continues, "that the world had a beginning and will have an end ; but it is not said what things were before the world, what things will be after ; nor is it any more said at what time the angels and the other propitious virtues were created, what they are, how they exist, nor if the sun, the moon, the stars are animated or not. Now, to make a complete body of doctrine all these things ought to be explained by examples and statements drawn from holy scripture or be established by way of logical consequence and with the aid of right reason." It is specially for the solution of these divers questions that Origen borrows from the Greek philosophy ; he takes care to warn his scholars when he enunciates speculative opinions rather than revealed truths. But he does not act in the same way in regard to other points of his doctrine, and specially when he speaks of God, the Word, the trinity. Excepting the non-corporeality of the divine persons and the creation of the Holy Spirit, all that he teaches of the Deity, one and triple, is a faithful reproduction of what was then admitted by his Church ; the traces of Platonism that appear there proceed from earlier Fathers who, in passing over into Christianity with minds imbued with Plato's theories, easily allowed themselves to introduce them into the new religion. It is, anyway, a fact that Origen thinks he is expounding the Christian doctrine in this respect such as it was in his days taught in the Greek Church, such as the fathers had transmitted it ; and during his life no one contradicted him on the point. The greatness of his work, the influence of his doctrines, the contests they gave birth to in the following ages, require that we take a rapid view of his principal theories, of those specially which in a later time produced so strong a reaction against this eminent doctor of the Church. The oriental theosophists taught that matter was eternal and formed the second principle of things ; in some way it formed a part of God himself, in whom were summed up all existing things, spirits and bodies. The Greek philosophers also believed in the eternity of matter, and most of them in the corporeality of God. The Platonists themselves, despite their spiritual-

istic tendencies, admitted as a third term of their trinity the universal soul of which the world was the body. The sacred books do not say in an explicit manner whether matter was created or not, whether God is or is not corporeal. Hence a divergence of opinions between the Christians of the first centuries ; the Valentinians, the Marcionites, and the other orientalisers regarded matter as eternal and increate ; they believed with several Hellenic sects in the corporeality of God. Philo, and after him some Fathers of the second century, reject the eternity of matter. Clement of Alexandria makes it the lowest of the divine productions. Origen in his turn thinks that it was procreated of God before all ages. He teaches the non-corporeality of the Supreme Being ; "God," he says, "is incorporeal, simple, invisible, incomprehensible." Notwithstanding the unfaithful versions of his translator, it is easy to see that the doctrine of Origen on God the Father and on the Word offers a nearly complete identity with that of the old or new Platonicians. There is more vagueness and uncertainty in regard to the Holy Spirit. This third term of Matthew's baptismal formula lent itself the less to an assimilation with the God-world, the third member of the trinity of Plato, because the Christians rejected the eternity of matter and the corporeality of God. More than once, however, under the influence of his Platonic recollections, Origen manifests an inclination to regard the Holy Spirit as a sort of soul of the world. Moreover, it was not an easy thing to characterise the third person of the new trinity. Nowhere does the Scripture represent the Holy Spirit as a distinct personification. The allegoric metaphors of Solomon and John apply only to wisdom, to the word of God. Accordingly the Fathers of the second century say little of the Holy Spirit ; and in what remains to us of Origen's writings, he does not appear to have been more explicit than they on the nature and the functions of that divine person. We shall see hereafter that at the time of the Council of Nice speculators found themselves under the same embarrassment. The third member of the Greco-Latin trinity will not be recognised

and constituted until the end of the fourth century. Origen believes with the Platonicians that the Word or Reason co-exists eternally in the supreme essence, considered in itself; he says as much of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, can God be conceived of without his reason and spirit? But when the question concerns the divine manifestation under a triple aspect, then in him, as in the Fathers by whom he was preceded, there is reproduced the inequalities of the persons, consecrated equally by the dogmas of Platonism. He admits in God nothing inborn, uncreated, except the Father. The Father alone is God in and by himself; the Son and the Holy Spirit are so only by partaking of the Father from whom they emanate. The Father is the first God, the Son the second God, the Holy Spirit comes afterwards. All three are of a purely spiritual nature. The Father who comprehends all, communicates himself to all beings; the Son communicates himself solely to beings gifted with reason; the Holy Spirit addresses himself solely to those who possess holiness.

The Son is the splendour of the glory of God, the figure of his substance, his image. He is a virtue which comprehends all virtues, a reason which contains in itself everything reasonable. The Son is born unceasingly; he is the Wisdom of God—that is, the Splendour of the Eternal Light; as soon as the light appears, its splendour bursts forth. The Son was created by the Father; they are two as to hypostasis, but they are only one by agreement and identity of Will. They are two statues representing the same object, one the greater, the other the less great. The Father is light in which there is no darkness, the Son is light which shines in darkness. The Father is the First Creator; the Son is only the second, the minister of the Father. The Father is goodness and truth in his essence, the Son is good and true only by communication; he is the image of the goodness and the truth of the Father.

The Holy Spirit is eternal like the Father and the Son; he is inferior to both; he is the image of the Son as well as of the Father; he proceeds from God himself; he is the source of all satisfaction. From the examination of the

Trinity, Origen passes on to that of divers spiritual natures, but most frequently he puts forward in this respect purely speculative opinions. Moses, the reader must be reminded, says nothing of the creation of spiritual substances—souls, angels, devils. If he speaks of angels, it is in some sort by figures. The word denotes an announcement, a message, and not a nature or mode of existence. When a good thought comes up, when a wise resolution is taken, it is metaphorically a messenger or angel from God, a celestial envoy which speaks to you and inspires you. Accordingly the existence of angels was denied by the Saducees and the Samaritans, who retained the primitive sense of the Mosaic books without admixtures from foreign sources. But during the captivity, the Jews received in Babylon positive ideas of angels good and bad. The figurative expressions of the ancient literature, taking then a real form in the eyes of the crowd, became living impersonations, which were received by the Pharisees. During the two first centuries, the Christians, whether Judaizing or Grecising, held to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, involved in the rewards and punishments of the life to come, but they taught nothing more—nothing as to the origin, the nature, and the end of these spiritual beings. The Gnostics, proceeding farther, supplemented the silence of Scripture by the Oriental traditions, and mixed with the Christian faith the speculations of the ancient religions. In the second century, some ideas from Plato on spiritual substances had crept into the minds of the Grecising Christians, but they were not generally received, and on this point the Hellenic Church, in the common opinion, was again inferior to the Gnostics and the Oriental priesthood. This state of things had a worse aspect at Alexandria than in any other place in the world; the school of Pantenus and Clement had it for its mission to find a remedy. Following the example of his predecessors, Origen endeavours to fill up the void by interrogating the philosophers of Greece. His doctrine on spiritual things is in some way confounded with that of Plato. Moreover, he states that they are opinions, not dogmas of the faith. The following is an epitome of them:

Long before the existence of our world, God created, to serve him and execute his commands, pure intelligences—pure, but endowed with free will in regard to good and to evil. That faculty they used differently, some embracing virtue, others giving themselves up to vice. Each class was to be treated according to its merits. This world was created for the punishment of culpable intelligences; the most criminal, with the devil at their head, were hurled into the abyss; those whose sins were less grave were cast down into an inferior order, or sent, under the name of souls, to animate human bodies. Now, all those intellectual natures, angels, devils, or souls, still preserve their free will, whatever their position. According as they act well or ill, they rise toward the higher regions or sink into the lower. Thus they may change their order, from angels become men, from men devils, and pass successively through all the ranks; the Devil himself is free to repent, but he will not. A time will come when these divers substances will appear in judgment before God and render an account of their acts. Meanwhile they remain in their different orders or conditions according to their virtues or their vices. The Trinity alone is purely spiritual; the other intelligences are clad with a thin and subtle envelope. Its tenuity allows the wearers to be seen as spiritual or incorporeal beings by comparison with the different bodies of the world. But the envelope of these spirits is more or less light according to the nature of their internal acts; devils have bodies more dense than those of the angels. The latter may, in virtue of their free will, amend, and enjoy the benefits of the death of Christ. The mysteries of the faith have been disclosed to them by the lessons of the Church. They will be subjected to a double judgment; they have first to answer for the men committed to their keeping, and afterwards they will appear before the bar on their own account, when God shall judge all things. In the first judgment they obtain glory or shame according to their acts; in the second, they will either be rewarded, by a vision of God, being shorter, or longer, or even eternal; or punished by absolute privation of that vision. If the

angels pass into the state of men in punishment of their transgressions, sometimes also a heavenly mission clothes them in a human body. Then they appear as men venerable for their sanctity. At the time of the dispersion of the races, the other nations received angels for their guides, while God reserved the conducting of Israel for himself; but the sons of Jacob passed under the yoke of the angels when they showed themselves rebellious to the Lord. The nations, in their turn, were governed by angels of a nature more or less exquisite, according as they behaved well or ill. Every Church is directed by an angel from heaven, independently of its bishop, to whom the same name is given figuratively. In every assembly of disciples there are two churches, one of men, the other of their guardian angels who pray with them. Every man and every nation have two angels, who keep themselves constantly with them, one good, and the other bad. Sometimes even there are around a man bands of angels or devils. Children are governed by their guardian angels, men by Christ.

All things, whether of the earth, the water, the air; whether fire, animals, trees, plants, are under the direction of angels, as well as the stars themselves. There exists an infinite number of angels whom men do not know. The ministry of those spirits is not restricted to man's earthly being; it also extends to times anterior and posterior. The angels it is, that send souls into human bodies; they equally, at the extinction of bodies, come to receive souls in order to lead them to the tribunal of judgment, and then to the several places of their destination. Good and bad angels are the ministers of the divine justice, whether to reward or to punish. Divers passages of Scripture may have had influence on the opinions of Origen, touching angels. Some of these opinions had been put forth before him; most of them were followed by posterior Fathers. However, you cannot miss seeing that his angels perfectly resemble the genii of Plato; only the name is different. But this belief in genii who govern men and the things of this world was not peculiar to the Platonic philosophy; it was found in Hellenism, as well as in the divers religions of the oriental

races ; from all these points at once did the doctrine come into the Greco-Latin Churches. The devils having a body less subtle than that of the angels and more suited to the air in which we live, it was thought that, in consideration even of the density of their organs, they took pleasure in feeding on the odour of the blood of the sacrifices offered to them by the pagans. That opinion borrowed from Hellenism, had been reproduced by the earlier Fathers, and appears to have lasted as long as the pagan sacrifices.

The devils were not to be punished with extreme severity except after the universal judgment which follows the end of the world ; but they have at present a presage of the pains which await them.

Human souls, we have said, were at first spiritual substances of the same order as the angels and the devils ; the nature of their misdeeds caused them to be placed in an intermediate state. Bodies are their prisons. But preserving freedom of action, they may become better or worse, ascend to heaven, or be cast into hell.

Souls are more or less favoured in the earthly life according as they have conducted themselves more or less well in their anterior existence. There are those who were instructed of the Father before they came into our world. Among the souls who, by their merits raised themselves to the condition of angels, some, whether in virtue of a celestial mission, or in imitation of Christ, took a human body, and, under the name of prophets or saints, consecrated themselves to the salvation of men. At the moment of death, the soul goes forth free from its impediments, and after casting off the body, takes a special form, which is the most perfect. Virtuous souls are surrounded with luminous envelopes, while those that have been given to vice have dark and opaque bodies. While admitting the pre-existence of souls and their transmigration either into the rank of angels or that of demons, or again into other human bodies, Origen nevertheless did not believe, with Pythagoras and the Oriental theosophists, that they could revive in animal bodies any more than in trees and plants. The different worlds are formed by God with the matter which he created before

all ages. The world in which we live was preceded by others, and after it, other worlds will be created which will succeed each other. All the worlds differ from each other in regard to the special destination of each. Ours was made for the punishment of intellectual substances which it contains in bodies more or less dense. The stars are animated by intelligences whose sins were slight. The souls of the stars know God, and address to him praises and prayers. They are morally free, and may act well or ill. The stars, as well as the elements themselves, will at some time be subjected to God's judgment. After the example of Philo, of Clement of Alexandria, and other Fathers, Origen allegorises the earthly paradise, which he places in the third heaven. He explains figuratively the trees and the other objects which indicate a spot on our earth. This paradise is, in his eyes, the same as that into which the souls of the righteous are sent. The coat of skins in which God clad Adam after his fall is this earthly and mortal body which envelopes his soul. Before his sin, the first man was immortal and incorporeal. In regard to the incarnation of the word, Origen can ask nothing from the school of Plato, who does not teach it ; accordingly, he shows himself very reserved. The explanation of this mystery, he says, surpasses human intelligence, the intelligence of even the apostles, and perhaps that of all the celestial virtues. He then speaks of it in very few words, rather according to faith than reason ; he limits himself to conjectures without affirming anything.

Before becoming man, the Messiah, by his Father's command, existed in Moses, in the prophets, and in the angels, whose office it is to take care for human salvation. Those angels and those prophets are words, but inferior words to him who was with God in the beginning. The soul of Christ pre-existed with his freedom of will, like that of other men. But at the instant of its creation it was smitten with love for its author, and united itself substantially and in an indissoluble manner with the Word. Its intermediate nature served as a link between the Word and the human flesh. Of that mediation the God-man is born.

The Word then found itself in Christ otherwise than in the prophets and the apostles. In the latter, the union was moral, in Christ the union was immaculate and hypostatic.

After the death of Jesus, his soul conversed in hell with the other souls separated from their bodies, and converted a certain number of them. The death of Christ has been useful not to men only ; the angels, the stars, and all created things have shared in the benefit. The God-Word became man among men, among the angels he became an angel. Dying once for the salvation of men, he has since, by a kind of spiritual sacrifice, bought off the sins of the celestial beings, and of all endowed with reason, the devils excepted. At the end of the world Christ will suffer a new passion in heaven for the divers creatures of all countries. There exists in heaven an eternal gospel of which ours is only the shadow. At the end of time bodies will rise, but not with corruptible flesh ; they will be transfigured into bodies brilliant with glory, which will have neither sex nor particular organs ; the different sensations will be felt by all parts of the body.

At the time of the final resurrection all will be subject to the supreme judgment of God, not men only, but also intelligences, and even the elements ; all created things have, in fact, received the power to act well or ill. Sometimes, however, Origen seems to ask if the last judgment will be undergone by the past generations as well as by those that will exist then, if it will be undergone by all even, or only by those who shall have been initiated into the faith ; if even it will be undergone by all Christians without distinction.

Christ will appear to all men, and all will be in his presence. It is only by a figure that the seat and the tribunal of judgment are spoken of ; he will see to the bottom of men's hearts by the sole inspection of the Spirit. All men, even saints, will be examined by fire ; the righteous will pass through the ordeal unhurt ; but the flames will burn the vices and sins of the impious (Mazdaism). The wicked will then be sent into different places to suffer there the penalties which they have incurred. By the everlasting

fire which will burn the impious, Origen understands the worm of conscience by which they will be gnawed, they and the devils, on viewing the blessedness of the righteous ; this is an invisible fire, a fire which sinners kindle themselves by their sins. Nevertheless, at other times, the fire designates for him either God Himself whom the scripture calls "a consuming fire" (Deut. iv. 24 ; Heb. xii. 29) or the universal conflagration. The fire of hell will more or less torment men and devils in proportion to their several individual sins. The punishments will be more painful in bodies transfigured by the resurrection than they would have been in purely human bodies.

Origen also admits other kinds of penalties. With the Platonicians, he says that the pure soul flies immediately away to the ethereal plains, while the guilty one, led on by its sins, is driven about near the earth, and wanders around tombs and other dismal places. The "outer darkness" (Matt. viii. 12 ; xxii. 13 ; xxv. 30), of which the gospel speaks is, in his eyes, the darkness of error and the obscurity of ignorance, or the black and obscure bodies with which the wicked will rise, as also the thick and earthly bodies which they will assume for a new life in a posterior world. Sometimes, by the "outer darkness," he understands the abyss which is situated out of the world, and which no ray of light illumines.

Supreme beatitude consists in being one with God (John xvii. 21, 24), but it is not to be attained at the first moment. First must the darkness of ignorance and error be scattered by a pure light. Souls, on quitting earthly bodies, are conducted into different places, which are illumined by angels. Thence ascending into a more brilliant region, they are there instructed in new doctrines, and by other masters. They rise successively into higher places until, by a perfect likeness to God, they come into that intimate union in which man's highest good consists. They pass a time, longer or shorter, in intermediate abodes, according as they have contracted more or fewer stains (Osirism). After having traversed these different spaces, souls enjoy beatitude in a new heaven and on a new earth,

which are above the heaven that we see. There they find Jerusalem and the different parts of our globe. Until things have been brought to supreme perfection there will be no absolute felicity for the blessed, for the prophets, for the apostles, or even for Christ. They are waiting for us, and their joy is disturbed in deploring our errors and in weeping over our sins. It is not without probability that, moved by love for those who are in the world, they may occupy themselves with their salvation, and aid them by their prayers and by their intercessions with God. At the consummation of all things, when Christ shall have subjected to his Father souls pervaded by righteousness, then God being all-in-all, the corporeal nature will be fully absorbed in the divine substance, which is the highest of all. After a certain time, matter will reappear, and new bodies will be created ; a new world will be organised to receive the intelligences that shall have sinned even in the bosom of beatitude in misusing their free-will ; it is in reality in the Trinity that essential goodness resides. Origen in many a circumstance proves that the punishments of the reprobate will come to an end ; the penalties are solely expiatory and temporary ; the devils themselves may come to repentance. Death, the enemy, which the apostle tells us will be destroyed at the end of time, is the devil who will cease to be in the sense that God will have overcome his impious and hostile will. The divers opinions on the duration of punishment arise from the fact that the words (*ἀίδιος* Rom. i. 20 ; Jude 6 ; *αἰώνιος* Matt. xviii. 8 ; xix. 16 ; xxv. 46, &c.), translated by everlasting or eternal are far from having an exact and determinate signification : "The word eternal in scripture," says Origen, "signifies sometimes what never ends, sometimes what does not end in this generation, but only in the generation to come ; on other occasions the term is used of some length of time, even the life of a single man" (Exod. xxi. 6 ; Ecclesiast. i. 4). The non-eternity of punishment seems a consequence of that which is taught by Origen in the persistence of free-will in intellectual beings. If they cease not to be free in their will, they may always turn from evil to good as well as

pass from good to evil. The felicity of the blessed is no more ensured for eternity, there will doubtless be progress and retrocession in one sense or another. On all these points Origen, to say the truth, announces only simple opinions, without teaching anything in a dogmatic manner. "We see," he says, "only what is intermediate; what things were before the world we know not; what things will be after, we do not apprehend in a certain manner."

Whatever may in the following ages have been the fortune of the divers opinions of Origen, we must not forget that in his time no one had opposed them. Even the ideas which he utters as purely speculative were accepted without much difficulty, whether owing to the influence of his name, or to their conformity with the doctrines of Platonism and of the oriental theosophies, which lived in the majority of minds. As to the part of his teaching which he presents as dogmatic, specially that which concerns the word and the trinity, it is agreeable to the beliefs of his church at that time. Origen who had received them from Clement, transmitted them to his immediate disciples, and they propagated them after their master's death. Gregory Thaumaturgus openly declared that the Son was created. Dionysius of Alexandria, faithful to his master's thought, admitted that the Father begot eternally, but he also thought that the Son was a creation (*ποίημα*) of the Father, and that the two differed. Pierius, who was catechist at Alexandria during the twenty last years of the third century, and to whom his ability procured the title of the second Origen, spoke of the Son in the same sense, and affirmed that the Holy Spirit was inferior to the Father and the Son; similar was the opinion of his first successors. It is averred that down to the end of the third century and later the doctrine of the Greek Church on the word and the trinity, quite moulded on that of Origen, did not differ from the theories of Platonism, except relatively to the Holy Spirit, on which opinion was not yet definitively fixed. While the questions of Christian metaphysics were agitated in Egypt and the other countries of the east, the western regions remained in a

measure strangers to the debate. The bishops and the doctors of that region, for the most part ignorant of the Greek tongue, little versed in the Platonic philosophy, and specially in the oriental religions, ill understood the object and sense of the discussions which arose touching the trinity and the word. The more practical spirit of the Latin populations condemned all these subtleties in which the spirit of the Greeks delighted. It was not with metaphysics that they were occupied, the difficulties which arose in their midst turned on points of morals and discipline. The cruel persecutions of Decius (250) occasioned internal troubles among the Christians of the west, especially in the churches of Carthage and Rome.

The terror was then so great that even before they were pursued, a crowd of persons rushed to make an act of public abjuration. Others, yielding to threats or violence, offered sacrifices, burnt incense on the altar of the gods, or took part in their festivities by some external act. Others finally obtained from the magistrates or the pagan priests certificates of safety, which now contained a renunciation of the Christian faith, now kept silence on the point. Those who had fallen into those acts of unfaithfulness (*lapsi*, *lapsed*) afterwards ask to be allowed to return into the bosom of the Church without undergoing penance. Minds are divided on the question, some speaking in favour of indulgence, others in favour of rigour. In different places, and especially in the province of Africa, the condescension of the confessors and martyrs grants to the delinquents letters of peace or reconciliation, whereby they are reinstated in the number of the disciples. In order to prevent the abuses which might arise from these letters too profusely given, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, writes from his hiding-place to the martyrs and confessors. He refers the examination of all the affair to the public peace of the church, making exception only for those who shall find themselves in danger of death. The question seemed the more difficult because the number of fallen was very considerable in the church of Carthage. Among the culpable was the greatest part of the people, and even some of the

clergy. The letters of Cyprian do not everywhere receive complete attention ; confessors maintain the peace which they have given ; in several cities of the province the people cry out that the peace obtained by the martyrs should be respected. Cyprian refuses to alter his decision. A schism ensues.

There existed among the priests of Carthage an unquiet man, named Novatus, who was accused of divers crimes and misdeeds. He was about to be tried when the persecution broke out and suspended the proceedings. The affair of the apostates furnished him with an occasion for separating from Cyprian, in exciting others to defection. With this purpose he united with Felicissimus, deacon of Carthage. The two form a party with the aid of five priests. They erect a separate altar, and hold on an elevation assemblies whither the apostates flock in crowds. Novatus having afterwards set out for Italy, Felicissimus, remaining sole head, excommunicates whoever obeys Cyprian. In his turn he is excommunicated by the bishop, as well as all his adherents.

Novatus visits Rome at the commencement of the year 251. There he changes his maxims ; while in Africa he had been for indulgence without limits, he in Rome complains of the too great facility with which penitence and reconciliation are granted. He joins his efforts to those of a priest of the city, named Novatian, who soon separates from the Church. Cornelius was elected in 251 to the bishopric of Rome after the See had been vacant sixteen months. Novatian, who is supposed to be his rival, declares openly against that election, and draws to his side several members of the clergy, who were prisoners for the faith. Novatian had seduced him by his apparent zeal for discipline. He affected an excessive severity, and taxed with condemnable weakness the consideration shown to apostates. At the same time he raised his voice against Cornelius, whom he accused of having taken a certificate of safety during the persecution, and to commune with bishops who had sacrificed to idols. However, it is asserted that he hid himself in that crisis, and that urged by the deacons to succour indigent brethren, he angrily replied that he would

be a priest no longer, and that he had chosen another philosophy. Yet he succeeded in detaching from Cornelius a certain number of persons ; then as if the See were vacant he got himself elected in his place and was consecrated by three bishops of a small country in Italy, simple and ignorant persons who had been misled. In opposition to the indulgence with which he reproaches Cornelius, Novatian denies to the Church the power of reconciling those who have fallen. There is no hope for them but in the divine compassion, and then only when they have gained it by penalties and the expiation of their sin. Entering into the maxims of Novatian, he condemns second marriages. He becomes the founder of a sect the members of which take the name of Cathari (pure, Puritan) subjecting to a new baptism the disciples who pass from another Church into theirs. A council at Rome having sundered Novatian from the body of the Church, he attempts to put himself in communication with the Churches of other countries. But he is rejected on all sides in spite of the testimony of the confessors whom he had seduced. Cyprian and the bishops of Africa refuse to hear his deputies. Dionysius of Alexandria replies to his letters in begging him to yield rather than establish a schism in the Church. A synod assembled at Antioch, in which appear the most considerable bishops of the east, deposes the schismatic and condemns his doctrine which favours sin by rendering all repentance impossible. In spite of all Novatian does not desist. The austerity of his principles secures him partisans. In a good number of provinces his sect continues to the end of the fourth century. Meanwhile Cyprian, returned from exile, collects at Carthage a numerous council to regulate the affairs of the Church (251). This assembly takes in regard to the lapsed, a middle term between too great facility and absolute rigour. It is determined that each particular case shall be examined, and that the guilty should be subjected to punishment more or less severe, according to the gravity of the offence. In a second council held in the same place the following year, it was resolved to be mild toward those who, not joining the schismatics nor returning to the life of the world, remain in

the Church imploring the divine mercy ; these are admitted to reconciliation.

Felicissimus and his adherents had been condemned and excommunicated in the first Council of Carthage, but, far from submitting, they contemplated setting up a rival power against that of Cyprian. Fortunatus, one of the five priests who had joined the schism, is elected by them to the Episcopate of Carthage, and consecrated by some dissident bishops. He is nevertheless unable to get himself acknowledged by the Churches of other countries ; the schism falls to pieces before Cyprian's wisdom and firmness.

Peace seemed restored to the Church by the condemnation of the schismatics of Rome and Carthage ; but a new trouble rises on the subject of the baptism of heretics. The Churches of Africa and Asia rebaptise those who come to them, after receiving baptism at the hands of dissidents ; that baptism was accounted null. This opinion was professed by Cyprian and the other bishops of Africa, as well as by Dionysius of Alexandria, Firmilian of Cappadocia, and the bishops of Galatia, Cilicia and neighbouring regions. On the contrary, Stephen, bishop of Rome, (256-58) maintained that according to the tradition of the Apostles, they ought to restrict themselves to the imposition of hands. A lively debate ensues ; councils are held on this side and the other. Letters and invectives are exchanged, Stephen threatens to separate from the communion of the Africans and of the Orientals. But the heat of the dispute at last dies away, and after the death of that bishop, peace is maintained in the Churches, although each side retains its own opinion. About the same time Millenarianism threatens a schism in the districts of Egypt. That belief, embraced by the principal fathers of the second century, had been attacked by Origen, to whose allegoristic tendencies and the Platonic theories on the happiness of the righteous in the future life it ran counter ; but it is defended by an Egyptian bishop, called Nepos, who writes on this occasion a book entitled *The Refutation of the Allegorists*. He there maintains that the promises made to the just ought to be taken in the literal sense, and that they will enjoy on earth.

all corporeal delights during the space of a thousand years. The work of Nepos has on many minds an influence which survives its author. It occasions in Syrenaica divisions and defections of Churches; but Millenarianism, stoutly opposed by Dionysius of Alexandria, ceases finally to be professed in the Greek Church. It is maintained by the Judaizing Christians. The dogmas of the Word and of the trinity raise new oppositions in the second half of the third century. Two principal contradictors maintain the doctrine of the unity of God: Sabellius in the provinces of Egypt, and Paul of Samosata in the capital of Syria. Sabellius, priest or bishop of the Pentapolis, spreads there his opinions under the reign of the Emperor Decius. They are similar to those of Noetus and Praxeas. He teaches, according to some, that God has revealed himself by the Word, in divers terms, as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. These are not distinct persons but successive aspects of the Deity. According to others, Sabellius, in denying the distinction of the persons, substitutes for them three faculties or three different manners of being. The union of the Word with Jesus is, in his eyes, an operation of the Word in that man of God. Trinitarianism he pronounced tritheism; and to establish the unity of God, he depends on numerous passages of sacred Scripture (Deut. vi. 4; Exod. iii. 14, xx. 3; Is. xli. 6, xliv. 6; John x. 10, 30, 38, xvii. 3). His system is combatted by Dionysius of Alexandria. But in attempting to establish the distinction of the three persons, the latter does not avoid the blame of separating them too much, and of making them in some sort three different deities. Some years later the unitarian doctrine is illustriously supported by Paul of Samosata; in the principal city of the east, of which he is the bishop.

Paul, born at Samosata, was called to the bishopric of Antioch after the death of Demetrius (269). Ere long he teaches a doctrine corresponding to that of the Old Testament in regard to the unity of God. Like Sabellius, he rejects the trinity of persons. The Word and the Spirit, according to him, have no proper existence; they are in God, as the word is in man and breath in his chest. He then denies the deity of Christ, and consequently the

hypostatic union of the flesh and the Word. In his eyes Jesus is a pure man who did not exist before he was born of Mary ; he was son of God, and God, not by birth or by adoption, but because of all the divine and celestial qualities that were in him ; he is called Word as the prophet or orator of God with men. The opinions of Paul arouse the bishops of the Oriental Churches, who, for the most part, were disciples of Origen and professed the ideas of Plato, like their master. They meet together at Antioch in 264. At their head shine Firmilian of Cappadocia, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athenodorus, his brother, Helenus of Tarsus, Nicomas of Iconium, Hymenaeus of Jerusalem, Theotistes of Cesarea, Maximus of Bostra. Dionysius of Alexandria excuses himself on account of his age and infirmities, but he makes his sentiments known in writing. Frequent assemblies are held ; numerous discussions take place. Paul, it is said, seeks to veil his doctrine, while others strive to expose what they call a heresy and a blasphemy against Christ. The accused is absolved and remains at the head of his Church. He had promised, it is added at a later day, that he would change his opinions ; and on that promise Firmilian, who presided over the synod, would have deferred sentence, in the hope that the affair would be settled without damage or disgrace to religion. This hope was not fulfilled. Paul, who was protected by Zenobia, mistress of the East, publishes his doctrines openly, and refusing all divine worship to Jesus, he interdicts as novelties and as products of modern men the hymns they were accustomed to sing in his honour. A second synod, composed of a great number of bishops, assembles at Antioch in the first year of Aurelian's reign (270). The accused defends himself with ability, and it is not an easy thing to convict him of error. Malchion, priest of Antioch, formerly a sophist, alone throws into light the secret sentiments of Paul, at least in the judgment of that Platonising assembly. Accordingly the Bishop of Antioch is put out of the bosom of the Church, because he believed in God according to Moses and Jesus, but not according to the dogmas of the Platonising school. The synod writes to

Dionysius, bishop of Rome, to Maximus, bishop of Alexandria (after 265), and to the universal Church, in order to make known to the whole world the zeal and diligence of the bishops, as well as the proscribed dogma and the discussions to which it had led. The epistle is full of invectives against the life and the morals of Paul of Samosata. But in religious quarrels we must be on our guard against statements coloured by rival passions. Among the imputations made on Paul, some seem exaggerated, others futile in themselves ; others apply to things not infrequent at that time of day. Generally the morals of dissidents are too severe than too lax. The synod, in deposing the bishop of Antioch, substituted for him Domnus, son of Demetrian. But the sentence could be passed more easily than executed. Paul, supported by a numerous party and by the favour of Zenobia, who then reigned over the Oriental provinces of the empire, refuses to obey the synodal decree. He maintains himself during three years. After the triumph of Aurelian, he is denounced to the Emperor as a dissenter and as devoted to the vanquished queen. Aurelian, ill disposed toward the religion of Jesus, commands as a matter of policy, that the house of the Church should be put at the disposal of those who are in communion with the bishops of Rome and Italy.

The fall of Paul entails the entire ruin of his partisans. His Church still subsists at the time of the Council of Nice and long after.

Scarcely have the Trinitarians condemned Paul, when a new and powerful heresy is formed with materials taken from the religions of Ormuzd and Buddha.

We have seen Christianity judaize among the Jews, orientalise in Egypt, Syria, and the neighbouring regions, hellenise in the midst of the Greek populations. A similar compound is produced in the Persian lands. There the religion of Jesus came into contact with that of Ormuzd. They had the greater tendency to assimilate because already many of the opinions of Mazdaism had from the time of the Babylonian captivity been infusing themselves into the religion of Moses. Different doctrines of the Chaldeans

and the Magi had besides penetrated at a later time into the Greek Church owing to the Gnostics of Syria and Asia Minor. But the most part of these sectaries had disappeared when Manes appears as representative of their teaching to fuse it into a new work. "Collecting here and there," says Eusebius, "the impious dogmas of diverse heresies long extinct, he composed his own, a deadly poison, which he spread from Persia over the Roman world." However, Manes does not confine himself to revive the Chaldean opinions of the ancient Gnostics, but, drawing deeply from the beliefs of the disciples of Zoroaster, he proposes to blend them with those of Christianity in making Jesus and Mithra one being. Manes begins to publish his opinions about the year 274. According to the ancients, he was not the sole originator of his heresy; others had preceded him in the same way. Here follows the species of legend which has come down to us :—

The first author of this sect is a person named Scythian, who lived in the times of the apostles. A Saracen by origin, he amassed a great fortune in India, where he carried on commerce. On his return he settles in Egypt. Scythian, a man of superior intelligence, has a disciple by name Terebinth, to whom he dictates four books, the first is called "Mysteries," the second "Chapters," the third "The Gospel," and the fourth "The Treasure." Some time after, he begins to travel over Judea, to confer with the doctors; but he soon dies there. The disciple, seizing all the riches of his master, seeks refuge in Babylon. There he substitutes the name Buddha for his own name Terebinth. He declares himself born of a virgin, and that he had been nourished in the mountains by an angel. His doctrines exposing him to accusations, he retires with his four books into the abode of an old woman, who is a widow, and comes to his end by falling from the terrace of the house. The aged matron, enriched by his heritage, purchases a child seven years old, named Corbicius, whom she sets free and has instructed in letters. In dying she leaves him all she possesses, and among the rest the four books dictated by the Scythian. Corbicius goes to reside in the city where dwells

the King of Persia and there changes his name into that of Manes. He thoroughly studies the sciences of Persia, as well as the four books of which he is the possessor. At sixty years of age he translates these books, to which he adds many tales, and publishes them as his own work. Three disciples give him their support ; two are sent into Egypt and Syria to spread their master's doctrines ; the third remains at his side. Manes is thrown into prison for having promised to cure the king's son without performing the cure. His disciples bring to him the writings of the Christian faith. He attempts to accommodate them to his own doctrine, to which he gives the name of Christ. He gives himself out as the Paraclete spoken of in the sacred books. His disciples go out to preach that gospel. At a later time Manes, escaped from prison, retires into a fortress, whence he propagates his opinions among the surrounding populations. But the King of Persia succeeds at last in seizing his person, and has him flayed alive. Is not this legend an evident testimony of the influence of Buddhism in the regions of Western Asia ? This Scythian (a probable alteration of the name Sakya), who enriches himself in India and on his return begins to preach new doctrines ; this Terebinth, who in Babylonia takes the name of Buddha, who pretends to be the son of a virgin and to have been fed by an angel, are they not veritably reminiscences of Buddhism ? According to his history, Manes, versed in the sciences of India, Egypt, and Persia, attempts to introduce them into the Christian religion. He calls himself the disciple of the gospel and the Paraclete promised by Jesus. The doctrine which he brings is a kind of mixture of Christianity with the religious ideas of Persia ; the organisation of his Church is imitated from that of the worship of Buddha.

Manes recognises two principles, uncreated, co-eternal, the one good, which is God, light, the author of good, the Father ; the other bad, which is matter, darkness, the cause of evil, the devil. The soul of men comes from light, their bodies from darkness.

Darkness making an irruption into light, God sends to

oppose it the first man, who was formed of celestial elements. He is ill used by the princes of darkness ; these rob him of a considerable portion of light. God then succours him by a virtue emanated from himself, the living Spirit, who rescues the first man from darkness, but without being able to disengage all the particles of the light which have mingled with the mass of corrupt matter. The living Spirit creates the world with the surplus of the celestial elements. He forms the stars, brilliant and animated, which turn round the firmament and separate the two rival empires. The Prince of Darkness, on his side, creates man in the image of the celestial man. In his body, drawn from matter, he puts two souls, the one sensual, which comes from the bad principle ; the other reasonable, which is a particle of the light, which the princes of darkness have taken from the first man. Then from the mass of the corrupt matter, the living Spirit forms the earth, to serve as an abode for the human race. In order to emancipate the soul from servitude to the body, and to set free the particles of light mixed with the material substance, God produces, from his own essence, two eminent beings, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. The first is the same as that glorious being which is called Mithra among the Persians, and of whom the sun is the residence. The second, shed abroad in the atmosphere with which our globe is surrounded, illumines souls, warms the earth, disengages the particles of light which it conceals, and restores them to the celestial abode.

Jesus Christ descends from the solar regions to hasten the deliverance of captive souls. He shows himself under the appearance of a human body, but not with a real body. He teaches men the way to conquer matter, and to free the soul from the bonds of the body. He suffers only an apparent punishment. His mission being accomplished, he re-ascends into the sun. Before quitting his apostles, he promises to send them the Paraclete, who will complete his precepts, and scatter the errors which shall have been spread abroad. This Paraclete or Comforter is Manes.

Those who observe the precepts of Jesus Christ, son of

God, as interpreted by his apostle Manes, are gradually purified from the contagion of matter ; but life is not sufficient for this trial. After death, souls go first into the moon, which is composed of a purifying water. When washed there, they pass into the sun, whose fire consumes all corruption, and blots out all impurity. The sun and the moon ought to be honoured, not as gods, but as the way by which men rise to God. The soul of those who do not know the truth, is, after death, given up to the devils, who cast it into the fire of Gehenna. When it has been corrected, it passes successively into other bodies of men, of animals, or even plants, until it has expiated its crimes by all kinds of trials.

The same as the ancient Gnostics, Manes declares himself the enemy of the God of the Jews, and of his law. According to him, it is not God who spoke to Moses and the prophets, but the Prince of Darkness. He blinded their spirit and seduced them by their lusts. Whoever obeys their words will die for ever. Manes then rejects the Old Testament. He holds that the Four Gospels were falsified and filled with Jewish fables. For them he substitutes another, which he says was dictated to him by God himself. He also asserts that the other parts of the New Testament have been altered in various parts. He denies that baptism was given for the remission of sins ; otherwise, he says, it would follow that Jesus had sinned since he submitted to baptism. The morality of Manes is not less severe than that of the ancient Gnostics of Syria and Asia Minor. He commands the suppression of the passions and the desires of the flesh ; he interdicts marriage, as well as the use of flesh meat, eggs, milk, wine, and all the pleasures of the senses. However, these rigid precepts are not imposed except on those who aim at perfection, and who are designated under the name of *elect*. The other Christians, who are called *hearers*, are not bound to so severe a discipline ; they are allowed to possess property, to marry, to eat flesh, but always within the bounds of moderation. The Manicheans have at their head, in their General Assembly, a president, who represents Jesus Christ. After

him come twelve directors, and seventy-two bishops, after the manner of the twelve apostles and the seventy-two disciples. Priests and deacons are established under the bishops. It is in the class of the elect, devoted to celibacy, that the functionaries of these orders were selected. All this religious organisation is manifestly moulded on that of Buddhism. The Manichean doctrine extends surprisingly in the provinces of the Roman Empire. A crowd of missionaries propagate it—doctors, elect persons, and apostles. It flourishes especially in Persia, Arabia, Africa Proper, and Egypt. Its roots will afterwards extend into the different countries of the West. The Latin Church of the Middle Ages will bear a living imprint of it. At the same time, when the sect of Manes appeared on the borders of the Euphrates, the Egyptian Church sees another institution rise in its bosom whose Buddhic origin cannot be denied : we refer to monks and hermits. It is neither in the recollection of the Essenians and Therapeutæ, who disappeared in the ruins of the Jewish people, nor in the Imperial persecutions, that we must seek the real cause of the vivid aspiration of minds for celibacy, the solitude, and the desert. It is connected with the mystic ideas which were then generally spread in Egypt and Western Asia among the Gentiles as well as among the Christians. Those ideas, not less foreign to Mazdaism than to the religion of Moses and the teachings of Jesus, proceed from the asceticism of the Brahmins, revived and intensified by the Buddhists in their numerous convents of monks and religious bachelors. Anthony, Pacomius, and the other founders of Christian monkism, had not the merit of originality ; it is Buddhism which transmitted to them, by all kinds of ways, the design and the rules of the establishments which they formed. The influence of that worship which we may, from the conquests of Alexander, behold ceaselessly in Western Asia, seems to have been greater still during the third century of our era ; to it we owe the hierarchy and the celibacy of the Manichean priests, as well as the ascetic follies of the hermitages and monasteries spread over the deserts of Egypt and Palestine. As we saw in the Introduction, the Buddhists

at that time had risen to the summit of their power in India, when the implacable wars which drove them out of the land for ever were about to commence. The two religious sects of that country were well known to the Alexandrine Fathers (Clem. of Alex., Strom. i. 15 ; Orig. Contra Celsum, i. 24).

Paul of Thebes is accounted the first Christian hermit who withdrew into the desert ; he went thither in his sixteenth year to escape from the persecution of Decius, and lived there alone to the age of one hundred and thirteen. According to Jerome, his historian, he was visited a short time before his death by Anthony, then ninety years of age, who takes on himself the office of burying him. There has come into our hands, under the name of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, a life of Anthony filled with visions and prodigies. Moderns have maintained that it has been altered in following ages by the superstition of the monks ; they did not like that the great Athanasius, that column of the consubstantial trinity, should be the mouthpiece of so many ridiculous tales. But the authenticity of the work has been zealously defended by the doctors of the church of Rome, who delight in monkish fables. Without examining the considerations alleged on this side and on that, we shall say that in view of the ideas of the age and of the character of Athanasius it does not seem to us unlikely that the bishop wrote the work such as it is. In the lives of Paul and Hilarion, Jerome, who was no ordinary person, reports visions and miracles analogous to those with which the life of Anthony is strewn. Besides Athanasius is not known solely as a learned theologian and a consummate dialectician, he was also the very able head of a party. Entirely given up to the defence of the consubstantialist dogma, he knew marvellously well how to manage and support the men who took part with him in that work. Now Anthony and his monks were in the number of the decided adversaries of Arianism ; it is quite possible for the bishop of Alexandria to have shown in his work more condescension for their prodigies than he would have manifested according to his own impulses. He takes care to announce (65) that he

speaks on the testimony of a great number of monks, who had recounted to him many other marvels. According to his historian, Anthony was not really the founder of the monastic life. There existed before him in Egypt converts of both sexes, but in small number and solely in the neighbourhood of inhabited spots. It is his impulse which determined a multitude of persons to embrace that kind of life, to build monasteries on mountains, to people the solitudes of the deserts. Born about the year 251, Anthony, at the age of eighteen or twenty, begins to give himself up to the ascetic life, after having given his inheritance to his neighbours and distributed to the poor all the product of the sale of his furniture. He passes fifteen years in the places of the neighbourhood ; then he retires into the desert. There he finds an old abandoned mansion where he dwells twenty years, without going out of doors or allowing himself to be seen by anyone. At the end of that time, he gathers disciples around him and founds several monasteries, the direction of which he takes into his own hands. At the time of the persecution of Maximin (311), he goes to Alexandria, where he devotes himself to aiding and comforting the martyrs. Returning into his monastery, he soon quits it in order to avoid the importunities of visitors, and goes and settles in the heart of the desert on a high mountain, one day's journey from the Red Sea. He dies at the age of one hundred and five years (356), two of his disciples inter him in a place known only to themselves.

Such are the principal facts traced by the life written by Athanasius. In regard to the miracles, temptations, visions, or hallucinations intermingled therewith, we leave them to those to whom they of right belong. Numerous disciples follow the footsteps of Anthony. Among the most illustrious is Macarius, who governed five thousand monks ; Paphnucius, bishop and confessor, who attended the council of Nice ; Ammonas, who also became a bishop ; Paul, the simple, who becoming a monk at the age of sixty, reached so high a degree of sanctity that he, it is said, wrought greater miracles than Anthony himself. Anthony and his successors founded populous monasteries in the deserts of

Egypt. Few clothes are needed in those climates ; you dwell in grottoes and cabins of reeds ; a morsel of bread suffices for nourishment, and it is easily gained by labour. One of the disciples of Anthony, Hilarion, born at Gaza about 292, had quitted Egypt while very young, in order to retire with some others in a desert near his natal city. In imitation of them a crowd of monasteries were established in all Palestine. After having travelled in different countries, in search of solitudes, where the report of his miracles had not been heard, Hilarion dies at Cyprus at the age of eighty. In the first half of the fourth century Pacomius institutes a rule and gives its entire form to the cenobitic life. By his example and his cares the deserts of the upper Thebaid are filled with monks. From Egypt, the Thebaid, and Palestine this Buddhist leprosy, which modern times have not yet destroyed, spreads throughout the empire. We have said that the church remained at peace from the captivity of Valerian (259) to the first years of the fourth century. Even Diocletian shows himself in no way adverse in this respect, as long as he is able to direct the action of his government. If he issues an edict against the Manicheans, the reason is because he considers them as sectaries, who, come from Persia, attempt to introduce among the Romans the customs and laws of their country against which the empire sustained unsparing hostilities. During nineteen years the other Christians had no ground of complaint against that prince. " We cannot," says Eusebius, " describe what liberty the Christian doctrine enjoyed among the Greeks and among the barbarians. The goodwill of emperors intrusted the government of provinces to the Christians, and set them free from the obligation of sacrificing to the gods. It was permitted to the brethren that lived in the imperial palaces, as well as to their wives, their children, and their slaves, to practise with full liberty of word and deed the duties of their religious faith. The heads of the churches were everywhere honoured and respected as much by individuals as by the governors of the provinces. A multitude of persons embraced the law of Christ day after day ; there was a great number of their

places of worship in the cities ; in place of the old ones, which were insufficient, more spacious edifices were constructed on all sides ; the people pressed in crowds to the sacred places.

What circumstances brought a change in this favourable state of things ? Succeeding to supreme power in the midst of the military anarchy which laid the empire waste in the course of the third century, Diocletian had, for a long time, to endure intestine struggles as well as external wars ; to supply the requisite means, he first associates with himself Maximian (286), his former companion in arms. Both bear the titles of Augustus, but the supremacy remains with Diocletian, who governs the East, and has his habitual residence at Nicomedia. The power of Maximian extends over the Western provinces. Afterwards, age and infirmities lead them to connect with themselves under the name of Cæsars Constantius Chlorus and Galerius (292). The first marries the daughter of Maximian, and governs Gaul and Britain ; the second, becoming son-in-law of Diocletian, is put at the head of Syria and the neighbouring lands. Constantius defeats the Germans under the walls of Langres (296). Maximian terminates the war with Africa. Diocletian defeats and slays Achilles, who had taken possession of Egypt (296). Galerius, beaten at first by Narses, king of Persia, gains a great victory over that prince, whom he drives back into the last solitudes of his kingdom (297). Inflated by his success, Galerius sets no bounds to his ambitious passions. The title of Cæsar does not satisfy him. Every day he gains a more marked ascendancy over his father-in-law (Diocletian), in whom he calls forth an extreme alarm. Superstitious himself, Galerius is ceaselessly excited against the Christians by his yet more superstitious mother. His ill-will against them does not wait for edicts ; several years before, he uses violence in regard to disciples of Jesus who serve in his army, and specially to those who remain in the palace. Some are deprived of the honours of their service ; others overwhelmed with outrages ; some lose their lives.

Toward the end of the year 302, he more forcibly urges

Diocletian to adopt rigorous measures. The aged prince refuses to shed blood, and to disturb the peace of the empire.

"It is enough," he says, "to keep in the ancient religion the soldiers and the officers of the palace." Galerius persisting, they refer to the opinion of their friends. Most of them side with the Cæsar. Diocletian refuses to yield. Then it is decided to consult the oracle of the Milesian Apollo, who does not fail to require the abolition of the Christian religion. It would be going too far to ascribe to superstition alone the motives which directed Galerius and the councillors of the emperors. State reasons must have had their weight in the decision. On these it is that Galerius in his edict, throws the measures he takes. "We are resolved," he says, "to bring back things to the ancient discipline of the Romans, and to re-establish the morals and the institutions of our ancestors." He then reproaches the disciples of Christ not only with having abandoned the ancient worship, but also with establishing, after their manner, particular laws, and with holding assemblies in different places, according to the diversity of sects and opinions.

The Christians, with their hierarchical organisation, which extended over all the provinces, formed in the empire a distinct society, having its revenues, its laws, its judges, its assemblies apart. It is not without probability that some of them took part, greater or less, in the frequent revolutions of the third century. The imperial power must have felt itself hindered and threatened by their influence and their ever-increasing number. The importance of these motives could not be disowned by Diocletian, who had himself given utterance to them in the rescript which he published against the Manicheans of Africa. But in consenting to rigorous measures, that prince requires at least that there should be no blood shed; while Galerius demands that those who refuse to sacrifice to the gods should be burned alive. The edicts against Christianity are not yet published when the church of the city of Nicomedia, where the emperors reside, is suddenly seized by soldiers. In vain do they seek for the image of the god (the Christians had neither statues nor pictures), they burn the sacred Scriptures; they plunder on

all sides ; in a few hours the edifice is razed to the ground (March 303). The next day, an edict is promulgated which orders the churches and the sacred books to be burnt. Christians are declared infamous, whatever their order or rank, they may be put to torture ; every person may originate an action at law against them ; their complaints, whether of injury, robbery, adultery, are not to be received. They are robbed of their liberty. At the same time, the imperial palace takes fire. A part is destroyed. Was the conflagration accidental ? Had it been, as some said, ordered by Galerius with a view of obtaining the extermination of the Christians ? Certainly, these are accused of being its authors. They meant, it is supposed, to destroy the emperors in the flames. Diocletian, who believes this, condemns to the flames all the people of his house, and has them executed in his presence. This cruelty finds numerous imitators among the judges. A multitude of Christians perish by sword, by fire, or in the sea. While these things are going on, insurrections break out at Melitina (in Cappadocia), and in Syria, where some ambitious men aspire to the imperial authority. The Christians are considered as favourers, if not, accomplices, in these enterprises. New edicts direct all the heads of the churches to be thrown into chains ; the prisons fill with bishops, priests, deacons, readers, and exorcists. The next year, Diocletian goes to Rome to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of his reign. On his return, he is, not far from that city, struck with a malady, from which he never quite recovers, and which at times takes away his reason. When he is back in Nicomedia, Galerius, profiting by his weakness, exacts from him letters which command in a general manner, that every one, of whatever place or nation, should publicly offer to the gods sacrifices and libations.

Shortly after Diocletian has the idea of laying down the burden of the empire, Galerius had increased his army and taken measures for seizing the supreme power. The aged emperor resolves to abdicate, and induces Maximian to follow his example. Constantius Chlorus and Galerius are proclaimed under the title of Augustus. The former has

under his government Italy, Africa, Gaul, and the other western countries ; the second, Illyrium, Asia Minor, Egypt, and all the east. They choose for Cæsars Severus and Maximian, the one a dependant, the other a nephew of Galerius. Severus takes the administration of Italy and Africa. Maximian is sent into the East. Although Constantius has the rank of the first Augustus, Galerius, who has the two Cæsars at his bidding, promises himself to exercise the supreme power by letting his colleague reign over the semi-barbarous regions of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. But this new state of things, established to the disadvantage of Maxentius, son of Maximian, and of Constantine, son of Constantius, does not last beyond two years. During the last sickness of his father, Constantine flees secretly from the Court of Galerius where he had been in some sort kept as a hostage, and arrives in great haste in Gaul (306). At the death of Constantius, the soldiers vote to him the title of Augustus. Some months later, Maxentius gets himself proclaimed at Rome by the pretorians ; and the army having revolted in his favour, he maintains himself against Severus, who perishes in 307, and against Galerius, who dares not attack him. Meanwhile, the edicts which proscribed the Christian religion, had been rigorously executed in the different provinces of the empire, excepting those which Constantius governed. That prince forbidding all violence against persons, was satisfied with demolishing the edifices ; but in the other regions, the Christians who refused to sacrifice to the gods, were pitilessly put to death. The number of the martyrs could not be counted, especially in the Thebaid and Egypt, as well as in Africa and Mauritania. However, the persecution does not last more than two years in these latter provinces, or in the other western lands. Peace is restored in 306 to the Christian populations by Constantine and Maxentius. The former re-establishes them in their religion fully. The other merely abstains from severity against them ; policy makes it a duty with him to be tolerant toward men that are persecuted by Severus and Galerius, his personal enemies. In Lybia, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, and the other provinces

governed by Galerius, the persecution rages without relaxation until the latter's death (311). It is even renewed after that time in the countries subject to Maximian. Doubtless all Christians have not a sufficiently living faith or a sufficiently firm courage to withstand a persecution so long and so cruel. Many defections take place everywhere. Many are overcome by torture ; many, yielding to fear, rush into apostacy without awaiting the punishments. In the bosom of the great cities you see multitudes of men, women, and children hasten to the temples to offer sacrifices to the gods of the empire. But by the side of those acts of coldness or infirmity, how many generous combats are fought for the faith of Christ, by persons of every age and both sexes. How many victims, weary by their constancy, the fury of the judges, and the cruelty of the executioners ! It was too slight a penalty to take life away ; the death must be painful and slow. To the tortures then in use for slaves and great criminals others were added such as the imagination of the tormentors could devise ; the believers are put into irons, lashed with thongs, torn by iron rails, wracked in all their members ; women are hanged naked, with their heads below ; they suffer infamous brutalities. Among the martyrs, some die of hunger, others on the cross, others are beheaded, quartered, thrown into the sea ; others are stifled with smoke, consumed with flames, roasted on gridirons over a slow fire. All kinds of violence are allowed against the Christians ; each individual may run and cut them down, may overwhelm them with bad treatment, may kill them as wild beasts are killed. In certain provinces every day, as many as ten, twenty, thirty, sixty, nay, even a hundred persons, men, women, and children, are dragged away to capital punishments. A Christian village in Phrygia is surrounded by soldiers and burned, with all its inhabitants, who, amidst the flames, sing songs of thanksgiving to the Lord. These calamities are prolonged during six years ; after which the judges, sick of blood and carnage, announce that the imperial clemency grants to Christians their lives. They then satisfy themselves with plucking out

their right eye, with ham-stringing them with a burning iron, and with sending them in this state to the mines of the province. This mutilation is suffered by a multitude of persons. Two years later, the cruelties are slackened and suspended. Galerius, smitten with an incurable disease, gives orders to discontinue the persecution and to re-construct the churches. In the rescript which he publishes, he announces first by what motives he has commanded the Christians to return to the rites and the institutions of their ancestors ; then he adds that having seen that most of them, obstinate in their folly, abstain at once from rendering to the immortal gods the worship which is their due, and to be present at the Christian ceremonies, he permits them, by an indulgence, to re-construct the edifices where their assemblies are held, forbidding any future constraint to make them do anything contrary to their discipline. This was an acknowledgment of being beaten by resistance.

The edict was put forth in the name of the three Augusti, Galerius, Constantine, and Licinius. At the death of Constantius, Galerius was at first disposed to give Constantine only the inferior title of Cæsar, but he was obliged to receive him as Augustus. In his last illness he conferred the same rank on Licinius.

That edict is published by all the provinces of the Empire except those in which the Cæsar Maximian bears sway. That prince, who disapproves the measure without daring to oppose it, informs the judges that they are to abstain from persecuting the Christians. The governors of the provinces, informed of the Emperor's will by the prefect of the Prætorium, conform to the prescriptions of the edict. The prisons open ; liberty is restored to those who had been sent to the mines. The churches assemble in peace in the cities. The pagans, struck with amazement at the sight of this unexpected change, cry out that the God of the Christians is alone the true and great God. The prisoners return by troops into their country, singing on their way hymns of thanksgiving to the Almighty. Even those who before uttered threats of death against the disciples, are eager to congratulate them on so marvellous an event.

But in the eastern provinces things change their aspect at the end of six months. Galerius having died shortly after the edict, Maximin, who proclaims himself Augustus, returns to violent measures. The Christians are overwhelmed with so many evils, that the new persecution appears to them still more cruel than the preceding one. After the death of Galerius, discord breaks out between the two emperors. Maxentius and Constantine are the first to disagree. These two princes were brothers-in-law, and their agreement guaranteed them against the enterprises of Galerius and his allies. When they have no more to fear, the rupture soon takes place. They give as a pretext, one the avenging the death of his father, which he lays to the charge of Constantine ; the other the deliverance of Italy, oppressed by his rival : in reality both yield to the impulses of their ambition. Constantine, after having promised his sister to Licinius, who governs the provinces which Galerius had had, passes the Alps at the head of an army of Gauls and Britons (to this passage refers the story of the appearance of a miraculous cross in the air). The legions of Maxentius are vanquished under the walls of Rome, and he himself perished in the flight in attempting to cross a bridge over the Tiber (312). The affairs of Italy being regulated, and Africa subdued, Constantine returns to celebrate at Milan the marriage of his sister with Licinius. There the two emperors publish an edict, which, in permitting all their subjects to follow that religion which they prefer, orders the restitution to the Christians of their churches and other property of which they had been despoiled. That law is sent to Maximin, who is not yet in open war. At first he avoids publishing it. Then, when his measures are taken, he suddenly advances into the countries which depend on Licinius. Twice beaten by the latter, he puts himself to death at Tarsus in Cilicia.

The persecution then comes to an end ; it had lasted ten years in the Oriental provinces. There was an incredible number of martyrs. Among the most illustrious was Anthenius, bishop of Nicomedia, beheaded in that city at the time of the conflagration of the imperial palace ; Pam-

philus, priest of Cesarea, who was the apologist of Origen and intimate friend of Eusebius ; Lucian, priest of Antioch ; Peter, bishop of Alexandria ; and several other bishops of Egypt. Under Constantine and Licinius the Christian religion enjoyed at first the most entire liberty, the churches arise again with more grandeur and magnificence. Various laws attest the good-will of the princes. Imperial letters are addressed to the bishops ; their honours are augmented ; they receive pecuniary gifts. But the good understanding between the emperors is of short duration. Two masters in the world were too many. The fate of arms decides against Licinius. A first war takes from him the provinces of Europe except Thrace, which he preserves with all the East. The conflict being renewed some years later, he is vanquished by land and sea, and compelled to surrender to Constantine. The latter sends him, as a private person, to Thessalonica, where soon after he is put to death contrary to the pledge of oaths (324). The Christians salute Constantine's victory with the more lively joy, because Licinius had persecuted them during the last war, in part by defying their arrangements, in part in order to conciliate the favour of their enemies. One of the first cares of the conqueror is to efface the trace of the persecutions ; he recalls the exiles, he restores those who were banished into the islands or condemned to the mines, to the public works, to servitude ; he restores to all the property and the honours of which they had been deprived ; the patrimony of those who suffered death in the persecution is restored to their heirs, or, where there are none, to the churches. They choose among the Christians the majority of the Governors of the provinces, and they are free to act according to their religion ; while the Governors who belong to the other worship have not liberty to immolate victims to their gods. The law forbids the particular sacrifices which were made to the idols here and there in the cities and the country places ; it is forbidden to make offerings anywhere else than in the public temples ; another law orders lofty oratories to be built and larger churches to be constructed, as if all men were about to abandon polytheism in order to

worship one only God. It also directs that gifts of money be made, and that the imperial treasures should be drawn out for the construction of the sacred edifices. The Governors of the provinces are informed of the prince's will in the matter ; he sends letters to the same effect to the bishops of all lands. Constantine writes with his own hand to the inhabitants of the provinces, to exhort them to observe the worship of the very great and very good God—a religion, he says, which is neither new nor recent, but dates from the beginning of the world. To say the truth, the terms of that letter are such as not to offend any more than could be helped the adherents of the old worship, who also worshipped the very great and very good God. Moreover the Emperor enjoins on all his subjects not to molest each other, but to live in harmony, whatever difference there may be in their religious belief.

In the midst of the calamities which pressed upon the Christians of all sects there arose in the bosom of the Greco-Latin Churches disagreements which had divided the believers and the confessors themselves. The Miletians in Egypt, and the Donatists in Africa renew discussions analogous to those that had been raised by the Novatians during the persecution of Decius. The commencement of the schism of Miletius, bishop of Lycopolis, is placed near the year 306. Its origin is described diversely. Some assert that Miletius had been condemned as an apostate in a Synod held by Peter, bishop of Alexandria ; others say, on the contrary, that the two bishops were divided on the question of the reconciliation of those who had fallen, Peter holding for indulgence, and Miletius reproducing the rigour of the Novatians ; but they agree to acknowledge that there is no difference between them touching Christian doctrine. Both of them are confessors, both have suffered for the faith. Miletius underwent banishment and Peter fell under the sword. Whatever was in the beginning the cause of the disagreement, there came up between them a question of Episcopal supremacy. Miletius ordains priests and bishops in each city of Egypt by the side of those which communicate with the bishops of Alexandria. Hence arises a schism

which will continue into the fifth century, notwithstanding the decisions of the Council of Nice.

The schism of the Donatists arises from circumstances of the same nature. After the death of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, Cecilian, his archdeacon, is elected by the majority of the people, and consecrated by the bishops of the province of Africa, in the absence of those of Numidia (311). These consider themselves affronted. At the instigation of the enemies or the rivals of Cecilian, they unite in council to the number of seventy, and command his presence to reply to the misdeeds laid to his charge.

His ordination is attacked on the ground that the bishop by which it was conducted, Felix of Aptong, gave up the sacred books during the persecution. The same crime is imputed to Cecilian, who is moreover accused of having then showed himself hard and cruel toward the confessors and the martyrs. The last reproach comes perhaps from his having after the example of Mensurius his bishop, blamed the rash zeal of those who of their own accord ran to martyrdom without waiting for the action of the judge. Cecilian refuses to appear before an assembly directed by his foes ; this is made a new charge against him. His unworthiness is pronounced ; Majorin, priest of Carthage, is appointed in his place. None the less does Cecilian continue his Episcopal functions ; he is supported by the majority of the members of his Church, which divides into two irreconcilable parties. Constantine charges the proconsul of Africa to inquire into these troubles ; the partisans of Majorin demand judges, uttering the wish that they may be taken among the bishops of Gaul, who not having suffered from the persecution are alone able to decide in an impartial manner. Cecilian is sent to Rome with ten bishops of each party. The question is discussed before an assembly of nineteen bishops, of whom only three are Gauls and the others Italians. The innocence of Cecilian is acknowledged, and his ordination is ratified, but without incriminating the bishops of the opposite side. Severity is used only against the most ardent of them, Donatus of Casa Nigra, a name which afterwards served to designate the schismatics. The bishops ordained by Majorin

are maintained ; it is decided that in the places where there are two bishops, one of each party, the older shall be continued, and his competitor put at the head of another Church. This conciliatory decision does not satisfy the Donatists, they allege that the council of Rome was not numerous enough, and that it did not well and thoroughly examine into the affair. They also accuse some of the Italian bishops of having themselves given up the sacred Scriptures. Constantine, yielding to their importunities, convenes in 314 at Arles a new Council, in which thirty-three bishops take part, sixteen of whom are from Gaul. This assembly confirms the decisions of that of Rome. Two years later the emperor consents to hear at Milan the two parties himself, and he decides in the same manner. The Donatists do not give way. The schism extends more and more in Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, it even reaches other Latin provinces. You see in most cities two trinitarian bishops and Churches who both declare themselves orthodox. In principle indeed the doctrine was the same on both sides. They were divided on a point of fact, that is whether Cecilian and Felix had or had not given up the sacred books. The Donatists who obstinately maintained the affirmative, inferred therefrom the unworthiness of Cecilian and the justice of the decree which had condemned him. In consequence they held for illegitimate and null all the acts of the ecclesiastical ministry that had emanated from the bishops and priests which he had ordained. They rebaptise the Cecilianists who came to them and ordain afresh those who had received sacred orders. The obstinacy of the Donatists brings down upon them the imperial animadversion. Twice does Constantine use force to overcome them, and yet ends by permitting them not to communicate with Cecilian.

Meanwhile the tranquillity enjoyed by the Church since the fall of Maximin had left minds at leisure to turn again to theological discussions. The Platonising Christians had to resolve many problems on the trinity and on the incarnation of the Word. It was necessary to harmonise Platonism with the baptismal formula of Matthew and

with the phraseology of John, as also to reconcile the Hebrew traditions and the three first gospels with the new dogmas that were drawn from the oriental theosophies.

Until the first years of the fourth century the doctrine of Origen as to the Word and the trinity had been admitted without raising any objection. According to him the Word and the Holy Spirit co-exist from all eternity in the divine essence, but when regarded as hypostases or persons, the son, distinct from the Father, is in every point inferior to him, he is only the image of the Father. The Holy Spirit also is inferior to the Father and the Son. This explanation comes from Platonism ; the theory of the Neoplatonicians is the same. Plotinus also said that the One or the Father begets eternally, and what he begets is eternal, but inferior to the generating principle. If you go back more remotely you find similar notions in the religions of the East. All have a trinity, of which the first principle, whatever his name, comprehends all, is the source of all, begets eternally. From him emanates a second principle, which is inferior to him, and this second principle gives birth to a third, which is less than the two others. But for the Platonicians, as for the Orientals, it was easy to make their speculations agree with the polytheism of their country. The three members of the trinity formed three gods from whom come the others by successive emanations. The Christians, on the contrary, come face to face with that first question, which may be called insoluble—How is it possible to bring the unity of God into agreement with the triplicity of the hypostases or persons ? Your hypostases, it was said to them, are three quite distinct gods. The objection had the greater force, because taking literally the incarnation of the fourth gospel, the Trinitarian Church affirmed that the Word, entering into a body, lived in flesh and bones among men. The least prejudiced minds could not then help seeing in Christ a real god, distinct from any other. Accordingly, to avoid the charge of tri-theism, the trinitarians abstained from exactly indicating the separation of the persons ; then the two latter disappearing in some way, presented themselves only as simple faculties or

attributes of the Father, and they incurred the reproach of Sabellianism.

The question still returned—How can God be triple and one whole at once? But, to say the truth, at the beginning of the fourth century the speculators occupied themselves with the Holy Spirit scarcely at all, the discussion turned principally on the Father and the Son. Were they two or one? equal or unequal? of similar or identical essence? eternal or not? what was the mode of the son's generation? These difficulties were brought by the necessary development of theories already received. It was urgent to resolve them on account of incessant attacks by adversaries of the Platonising Church. The Jews, the Sabellians, the Paulianists, and the other Unitarians, accused the disciples of Origen of tri-theism. The Neoplatonicians reproached them with seizing the dogmas of their school in mingling with them the fables of the foreign nations. It is specially at Alexandria that these questions are agitated in the common centre of all religions and all philosophies. In consequence of its extent and of the multitude of the disciples of the Trinitarian Church, that city possessed a certain number of temples where they assembled in separate quarters. Each assembly was under the direction of a priest subject to the authority of the bishop. Arius was at the head of one of those churches. He was a man advanced in years, of lofty stature, a serious bearing, with soft and insinuating speech. Among the priests that governed the other churches were Colluthus, Carponas, and Sarmatas. These several pastors professed divergent opinions on the Word and the trinity. Each of them propagated his own doctrine among the multitude. Thence dissensions arise—these take part with Arius, the others with Colluthus, with Carponas, with Sarmatas; but these two last went over to the side of Arius, and his system had no other opponent than Colluthus. The contest only became the more earnest, and Colluthus went as far as schism, because the bishop seemed to act too mildly against Arius and his followers.

These things took place in the first years which followed

the death of Maximin. Alexander was then Bishop of Alexandria. Whether he hesitates between the two doctrines, or wishes to terminate the difference by persuasion rather than authority, he at first avoids pronouncing openly. The members of his clergy met together in two conferences, in which each party defends its own opinions, without coming to an agreement. Finally, the bishop takes part against Arius. He maintains, in the presence of all the members of his Church, that there is an unity in the Trinity. Arius replies that this is to fall into the error of Sabellius, and throwing himself into the opposite extreme, he bitterly argues against Alexander, who is satisfied with gently inviting him to better opinions. If you seek for the sentiments of Arius in the writings of his adversaries, you will run the risk of taking for his opinions those which are ascribed by way of inference or induction. We limit ourselves to citing some passages from the letter which he wrote to Alexander, conjointly with those of the bishops, priests, and deacons of Egypt, Lybia, and the Pentapolis, who were attached to his fortunes. "The faith," they say, "which we have received from our ancestors and from thee thyself, blessed Pope, is this : We acknowledge one God, alone unbegotten, alone eternal, alone without beginning, alone true, alone immortal, alone wise, alone good, alone powerful, alone judge, who conducts and who governs all things immutable and unalterable, just and good, the God of the law, of the prophets, and of the New Testament ; who begot his only Son before the ages, by whom he made the ages and all that is. He begot that Son, not in appearance, but in reality ; by his own will, he made that Son subsist, immutable, unalterable, God's perfect creature, but not as one of the creatures, a production, but not a someone of the productions . . . nor is it that he who was before was afterwards begotten and created Son. There are three hypostases or substances. God, being the cause of all, is alone without beginning. The Son, begotten out of time by the Father, created and founded before the ages, was not before he was begotten. But, alone begotten out of time before all things, he subsists by the Father. He is not

eternal or co-eternal, or not begotten like the Father. . . . God who is the unity and the principle of all, is before all things ; consequently he is before the Son, as thou hast taught us when preaching to the disciples. Therefore, in as much as the Son holds of God, essence, glory, life, and as all things have been delivered to him, in this is God his principal. The Father is superior to the Son as being his God and as existing before him." In contact with this we put the opinion supported by the adversaries of Arius ; we find it set forth in a letter from Alexander to the Bishop of Byzantium :

" We believe, with the Apostolic Church, in one sole God Father not begotten, who has no principle of his being, which is immutable and inalterable, always the same, incapable of progress or diminution, who gave the law, the prophets, the gospels, who is the Lord of the patriarchs, apostles, and all the saints ; and in one sole Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, begotten not out of nothing, but of the Father, not after the manner of the body, by retrenchment or by outflow, as Sabellius and Valentinus teach, but in an ineffable and unnarratable manner. We have learnt that he is immutable and unalterable like the Father, that he has need of nothing, that he is perfect and similar to the Father, and that he lacks only not to be begotten like him. . . . But if the Father alone has no principle of his being, the Son is begotten of the Father without commencement." If you compare these expositions with Origen's doctrine, you will find that each of them approaches it in one way, and is at a distance from it in another. Origen tends like Arius to acknowledge the Father alone as truly God ; the Son, quite inferior, is God only by communication ; he is an image, a manifestation of the Father ; but Arius holds that the Father preceded, while, according to Origen, the Son reposes in the bosom of the Father from all eternity. The theory of Alexander, in its turn, agrees with that of Origen as to the eternal existence of the Son ; but it differs therefrom singularly in regard to the nature and qualities of that Son, whom it makes equal to the Father in all respects, and has only one

and the same substance as he. In this controversy, as in so many others, the terms employed ought to have been defined. The Latin term, *Verbum*, is rendered very imperfectly by the Greek term *Logos*. The latter does not solely signify the Word, and by extension thought, or the inner Word, it also means reason, intelligence, wisdom. If to these significations we add the mysteries, not to say the no sense of the incarnation taken to the letter, it will be easy to see in what sophistical confusion the questions concerning the Word and the Trinity were debated in the bosom of the Platonising Church. The opponents of Arius said to him : " If the Son is posterior to the Father and not con-substantial, he is not God by essence, but solely by communication ; he is God like the angels, an intermediate power like them, although in a much superior degree." Whence they concluded that it was to lower the Son to the state of creatures and fall back into the heresy of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata. In his turn, Arius replied : " Every generation implies the pre-existence of the generator ; the Father who pro-creates is anterior to the pro-created Son ; however few the moments, he necessarily precedes him." This objection was difficult to answer. Accordingly, they could only reply by a comparison with the sun and its light, a comparison whose justness is very disputable, or by the nature of eternity which the human mind cannot understand. In another point of view, Alexander's system did not succeed in freeing itself from the reproach of confusion in regard to the hypostases or divine persons. If the three persons are equal in age, in power, and other qualities ; if besides they are con-substantial, the human mind no longer understands what differentiates them ; it is one and the same being under divers names. Whatever you do, you cannot extricate yourself from this dilemma ; either the three persons have some difference between them, and then they are three Gods ; or they are identical every way, and then they are not persons but names designating one and the same God. Arius had reason for saying to his adversaries that they avoided tri-theism only by throwing themselves into the doctrine of Sabellius, as those stood on a

solid basis who objected that in making the Son an inferior god he fell back indirectly into the opinion of Paul of Samosata. In fact, on both sides they could not save the unity of God except by sacrificing under one form or another that unfortunate trinitarian idea which from the Platonism and the theosophies of the East had quietly made its way into the Greco-Latin Christianity. In vain did the debaters exhaust themselves in sterile efforts to resolve these insolvable quiddities. Let it be said with Philo that the Father alone is God, and that the two other members of the trinity are only personified faculties ; let it be said with other philosophers that there is only one God considered under three aspects or at three different moments ; explanations of the kind may more or less suit minds who take pleasure in the vagueness of speculative notions, but they cannot be reconciled with the teachings of the Trinitarian churches on the distinct co-existence of the three divine persons and on the incarnation of one of them. On the outside of metaphysical subtleties there is the general belief of the ordinary members of the Church. For them a veritable tri-theism has been constituted which the worship of images, introduced at a later day, effectually threw into prominence by sculptures and paintings. When giving a real body to the conceptions of philosophy or to the figurative expressions of the East, the arts represent the Word as descending from heaven to enter a human envelope, which is born, which lives, and which dies, and when this Son of God is designated under the form of a man or of a lamb, the Holy Spirit under that of a dove or tongues of fire, and the Father himself under the aspect of a noble old man majestically seated on the clouds, could it be expected that the Christian multitudes would not see these three definitely characterised gods, and three gods having the figure of a man or an animal ? In order to uphold their opinions, the partisans of Arius and those of Alexander, equally to sustain their position, rest on passages of sacred scripture, which each interprets after his own manner. Moreover, Arius invokes, and with good effect, the authority of the ancient Fathers, all of whom

established marked differences and different degrees between the three persons of the trinity, as did the Platonicians between the three gods of their triad. His opponents are obliged to acknowledge that those Fathers often spoke of the divine persons in an unreflecting and indiscreet manner. Meanwhile the doctrine of Arius is propagated on all sides in Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis. It has adherents not only in the multitude but also among the bishops, the priests, the deacons, and the virgins consecrated to the Lord. It became urgent for his antagonists to take measures against it. In 320 Alexander calls together a synod of nearly a hundred bishops, drawn from all the districts subject to his supremacy. Arius and his partisans present themselves there in order to defend their doctrine. They are condemned and excommunicated by the synod, whose decree has the effect of only making them more determined to propagate their opinions. Arius had procured the support of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, a distinguished man and strong in influence with the princes that resided in that city. Old relations united them with each other. They had studied together under Lucian, priest of Antioch and Martyr, who was accounted to hold the doctrines of Paul of Samosata. Eusebius inclined to the sentiments of Arius. He recommends him to several bishops; he writes to induce him to mitigate the affair by receiving him into his communion. The exchange of letters which takes place on this occasion makes this controversy, hitherto confined to the Egyptian provinces, known in the different countries of the East. Alexander then communicates to all the bishops the synodal decree which condemns the Arians and at the same time complains of the favour which they receive from Eusebius of Nicomedia. Exposed to the persecutions of his bishop, Arius removes from Egypt (322). He repairs to Palestine, where he succeeds in gaining over to his cause the majority of the bishops of the East, and then proceeds to Eusebius. From Nicomedia in agreement with the bishops, priests, and deacons who accompany him, he addresses to Bishop Alexander the letter which contains their common profession of faith, of which we have presented some ex-

tracts ; but neither that letter nor the recommendation of Eusebius can obtain anything from the bishop of Alexandria.

There was in that capital a young deacon by name Athanasius, who, already celebrated for his writings and admitted into the intimacy of the bishops, supported him in his struggles with the dissidents ; he was held to have advised the bishop to refuse all communication with Arius. Eusebius of Nicomedia, offended that no attention was paid to his letters, collected in Bithynia a synod composed of bishops of his way of thinking. From all sides they write in favour of the Arians, requesting that they may be admitted to communion, and that steps on their behalf may be taken with Alexander. At the request of Arius, another synod is convoked in Palestine by Paulinus of Tyre, Eusebius of Cesarea, and Patrophilos of Scythopolis. There a decision is come to in favour of Arius while the members add that nevertheless they shall obey their bishop and will as soon as possible try to find a means of making their peace with him. Alexander sends to all the churches a circular letter in order to remove the unfavourable impressions prevalent respecting himself. The bishops, contrary to the Arian doctrine, reply in approving the decision of the synod of Alexandria, while Eusebius of Nicomedia and the other bishops favourable to the Arians entreat Alexander to remove the excommunication, affirming the orthodoxy of those dissidents. Alexander on one side and Arius on the other collect in a volume the letters of those who adhere to their doctrine. From the collection of Arius, the Arians, the Eunomians, the Macedonians afterwards draw their principal arguments. These troubles turn to the disgrace of the whole Church. The pagans take occasion for exposing to public laughter on the stage and in the games the mysteries of the Christian religion.

Constantine, become the head of the empire, learns what divisions agitate the Oriental Church (324). He writes to Alexander and Arius, reproaching both with exciting great trouble for so slight a cause. He entreats them to come to terms, that he may have access to the East, interdicted to him by their quarrels.

This letter is carried by Osius, bishop of Cordova, a man eminent for the purity of his faith, and for the courage with which he had confessed it during the persecution. The emperor, who had for his person a special esteem and veneration, charges him to put an end to the dissensions, and to restore concord among the Christians of Egypt. Osius gathers together a synod at Alexandria, in which the members deliberate on the different schisms or heresies which had sprung up in that region. The schism of Colluthus is the only one that is put an end to. The differences of Arius and Miletius had struck their roots too deeply for Orosius to succeed in extirpating them. He returns to court without having fulfilled the principal object of his mission. But after his return, the disposition of the emperor in regard to the Arians seems changed, whether by the effect of the relations of Osius, or by discovery of the good offices which Eusebius of Nicomedia rendered to Licinius during his war with Constantine. In order to put an end to the controversies which divide the members of the Church, the emperor, in 325, convokes a synod or general council at Nicaia, a city of Bithynia. Independently of the Trinitarians, the heads of the different sects or dissidences of Christianity flock thither from all parts. Among them, Eutychius enumerates Marcionites and other gnostics, Sabellians, Paulianists, or disciples of Paul of Samosata, Mariamites, a species of barbarians who made of Christ and his mother (Miriam) two divinities distinct from the supreme. The trinitarian bishops only are allowed to compose the council. There are persons present from all oriental regions; but merely a few represent the Latin countries—Cecilian of Carthage, a bishop of Gaul, one from Dalmatia, one from Pannonia, one from Calabria, and Osius of Cordova, who long sojourned with the emperor. The bishop of Rome, Sylvester (314-35), whom old age did not allow to undertake the journey, sent two priests from his diocese to take cognisance of the affairs handled in the council, or to consent to the resolutions that should be adopted. "It would," said Eusebius, "be difficult to estimate the number of priests, deacons, acolytes, and other persons by whom the bishops were

accompanied." Alexander brought his deacon, Athanasius, who will be in some way the soul of the council, and in the sequel the greatest defender of its decrees. According to Philostorgus, Alexander, before the opening of the assembly, went to Nicomedia to consult with Osius and other bishops on the resolutions to be proposed. Arius, introduced into the council, defends his doctrine with firmness. Some twenty bishops maintain it openly, among others, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Cesarea, Patrophilos of Scythopolis, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarba (in Cilicia), Gregory of Berytus, Ætius of Lydda, Menophantes of Ephesus, Narcissus of Neronopolis, Theognis of Nicaia, Maris of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmarica, Secundus of Ptolimais in the Pentapolis. The two last had been excommunicated five years before by the Synod of Alexandria; the others were all from Syria, Palestine, Phenicia, or Asia Minor.

The discussion was lively. The attack and the defence were given with much heat. "The emperor hears all, without impatience," says the historian of his life. He attempts conciliation. He brings over these by the force of his reasons, he bends those by his entreaties, praises those who speak well, and excites all to concord. Whether from conviction, or the influence of the prince, the great majority of the bishops decides against the opinions of Arius and the Eusebians. But the difficult point was to express in a precise and exclusive way the doctrine which they wished to adopt as orthodox. The Eusebians, departing from the opinion of Arius to remain with Origen, admitted like their adversaries, that the Word was God and of God, that he was the virtue, the true image of the Father, like him in all things, immutable, and always subsisting in the Father. To remove all doubts, the opposite party proposes to declare that the Son is consubstantial with the Father (*homousios*), an expression employed in the schools where the question was discussed. The Arians cry out against this on the ground that the term is found in no passage of Scripture, and that it was rejected by the Synod of Antioch, which condemned Paul of Samosata. The drawing up of

the formula of faith is confided to the care of Osius. He presents, and the council adopts, a symbol expressed in these terms :—

“ We believe in one only God, Father Almighty, creator of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, only begotten Son of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father ; God of God, light of light, true God of true God, begotten and not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made in heaven and on earth ; who for us men, and our salvation descended, incarnated himself and became a man, suffered, arose the third day, ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the living and the dead ; we believe also in the Holy Spirit.

“ As to those who say that there was a time when the Son was not, that he was not before he was born, that he was drawn from nothing, or who say that he is of another substance or essence, or that he was created, that he is changeable or alterable, the Catholic and Apostolic Church pronounces on them anathema.”

It is to be remarked that this symbol occupies itself with little else than the nature of the Son, and of his relations with the Father. Not very explicit on the Father himself, it is satisfied, in regard to the Holy Spirit, to announce that it believes in it (or him) without saying anything on his nature, his functions, or his relations with the two other persons. The word trinity does not appear in the profession of faith ; nor is it said that Jesus descended into hell. After the condemnation of Arianism, the council regulates several other points which had previously produced difficulties in the Church, such as the day of the celebration of the Passover, the schism of the Purists or Novatians, the baptism of heretics, continence to be imposed on the ministers of worship, the schism of the Miletians.

On the subject of the Passover, the practice of the Christians of Asia Minor is condemned, and it is decided that the festival should be kept in all places on the day fixed by the usage of the Church of Rome, and most of the other churches.

In regard to the Novatians, it is determined that their bishops, priests, and other clerics shall be admitted by the sole imposition of hands, after having made an act of adherence to the universal Church, but that they shall come only after the bishops and other ministers of that Church, in the places in which any of them shall be found. The question of the baptism of heretics is not decided in a general manner. The resolution of the Council concerns only the Paulianists. It declares that they shall be baptised again when they shall present themselves to the Church, and when those of them who were ecclesiastics shall be, if judged worthy, ordained by the bishop, after having received baptism. From the fact that re-baptism is spoken of only in the case of the Paulianists, it has been inferred that the Council regarded as valid that which was given by the other dissidents. The reason of the difference is that Paul of Samosata, denying the trinity, did not baptise in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Later on, other assemblies will reject the baptism of all the sects which shall be in disagreement with the official Church. In the interests of morality the Council forbids every bishop, priest, and other cleric to have in his home women secretly introduced, unless their mother, sister, aunt, and other persons free from suspicion. In the mystical ideas that were then prevailing more and more, it had been proposed not only to admit none but bachelors to ecclesiastical functions (as the Manicheans practised), but to interdict every member of the clergy from cohabiting with his legitimate wife. A holy confessor, a disciple of Anthony Paphnutius, bishop of Thebais, opposes this by saying that the nuptial bed should be honoured, and that the state of marriage is a state of chastity. The other members of the Council agree to that opinion expressed by a man who had always observed the strictest celibacy. In condemning the schism of the Meletians, the Council exercises great indulgence toward Meletius, who was its author. It is decided that that bishop may reside in the city of Lycopolis and preserve the honour of his rank, but without having the right to lay on hands or to take part in any election.

The ministers of worship ordained by him are maintained in their functions, yet below those whom Alexander had appointed in each place and under the condition of being subject to the bishop appointed by the latter. This schism of Meletius furnishes the Council with an occasion for acknowledging at the same time as those of Bishop Alexander the rights which custom had consecrated for the metropolitans of other countries. The first part of its sixth canon runs in these words :—

“That the ancient customs be maintained in Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, and that thus the bishop of Alexandria has power over all these countries the same as is practised by the bishop of Rome ; that equally their privileges be preserved in Antioch and in the Churches of other provinces.” The religious hierarchy moulding itself on the political, the name of Metropolitan was given to the bishop of the principal place or the metropolis of each district. Such were the bishops of Rome, of Alexandria, of Antioch, of Cesarea, of Ephesus, of Carthage, and other cities, where resided governors, proconsuls, or pretors. Usage gave to those bishops above others of the same country, a prerogative of honour and authority. No ordination or consecration was performed in all the province without their being consulted. They convoked the provincial synod, received appeals from the judgments pronounced by the other bishops, exercised censure over the morals of the latter, and degraded them in case of a violation of discipline.

The Council maintains the authority of the bishop of Alexandria as metropolitan of Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, an authority which had been usurped by Meletius ; it maintains it after the manner of that which was exercised by the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and other metropolitan cities. Rufinus of Aquilæa, a writer of the fourth century, explains (1, vi.) that the power recognised by the bishop of Rome by this canon regards the suburban churches, that is to say, those of the different provinces of Italy properly so called (distinct from upper Italy or Cis-Alpine Gaul). These provinces, called suburban, formed

the vicariate of the city of Rome ; Milan was the principal place of the vicariate of Upper Italy ; the one and the other depended on the prefecture of the pretor of Rome, as well as Western Illyrium, Africa, and Mauritania.

As to the metropolitan churches they were independent the one of the other. The Council recognised no pre-eminence among them. Not that nevertheless there was not at that time granted, especially in the Latin provinces, a kind of prerogative of honour in connection with the Church of Rome, established in the capital of the Empire ; but with that there was not connected any idea of authority over the churches of other lands. As yet there was no sovereign pontiff among Christians, no universal bishop, no bishop of bishops. In the same way a kind of pre-eminence over the churches of their respective regions was granted to Antioch and Alexandria, capitals of Syria and Egypt.

From the fact that the religious hierarchy was based on the civil administration it resulted that in Palestine the pre-eminence belonged not to the bishop of Jerusalem, but to that of Cesarea, metropolis of the province. Thus the Church of Jerusalem, founded by Jesus* and his apostles, and which under this consideration ought to have had the primacy over the other churches of the world, found itself in only a second place among those of its own province. However, that Church, by reason of its origin and the sacredness of Jerusalem, was always held in honour. That distinction was preserved by the Council, according to ancient custom and tradition, but without prejudice to the dignity of the metropolitan of Cesarea. When the formula of faith drawn up by Osius was submitted to the Council, some of the bishops who favoured Arianism at first refused to subscribe it ; they found fault with it as containing expressions which are not in sacred scripture. But they soon learnt that the Church had ceased to be free. A master was at hand who threatened the recalcitrants with exile. The majority of

* The Church of Jerusalem, properly so called, was founded by apostles and not by Jesus, who simply gathered the materials out of which others formed the churches first and then the Church.—*Translator*.

them resign themselves to giving their signature. Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, Mario, Theonas, and Secundus still stand out; the three first end by yielding to solicitations from the other bishops. In their subscription, however, they substitute the word *homoiousios* (similar in substance), for that of *homoousios* (consubstantial), and they refuse to consent to the anathema directed against the Arians. Theonas and Secundus, who persist in their opposition, are, as well as Arius, anathematised by the Council, and banished by the Emperor into the Illyrian provinces. Three months later Eusebius and Theognis set out for their place of banishment; but they return a short time after, giving in a complete adhesion.

The council writes to the Church of Alexandria, and to all those of Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, to acquaint them with what has been resolved on, principally in regard to Arius, Meletius, and to the celebration of the Passover. Constantine on his side addresses letters to the different Churches of the empire, exhorting them to conform to the decisions formed by the Council of Nice. "For," he says, "all that is done in the sacred councils of bishops ought to be regarded as the Will of God."

Then the emperor sends forth other letters against Arius and his adherents. In one of them he directs that all books proceeding from Arius should be thrown into the flames, and decrees the penalty of death against those who shall hide instead of burning them.

In the following book we shall see that neither the decrees of the Council nor the edicts of princes could put an end to the dissensions of the trinitarians. The troubles will still last a long while with divers alternatives, before all discussion is at last stamped out under the imperial despotism and the ignorance of barbarous ages. Let us say a few words on the divers changes which were introduced into the doctrine, the ceremonies, and the discipline of the trinitarian Church.

The tendency which the Christians had as early as the second century manifested to appropriate the theology, the rites, and the usages of Hellenism, had increased from day

to day among the professors of Christianity. As we have seen the Fathers drew from Platonism their explanations on the Word and the Trinity. But there the loans did not stop. Origen in some manner introduced the whole philosophy of Plato into the popular religion. To say the truth, those of his opinions which he gives as speculative were not all received. Even in a later time, a lively reaction set in against some of them. But admitted or not, the greater part none the less seduce a considerable number of minds. The traces always remain specially in what concerns angels, devils, souls, the rewards and the punishments of the future life. After the end of the second century different rites also are imitated from Polytheism, and principally from the oriental superstitions concerning devils. Nevertheless the influence of Hellenism in this respect will be much greater under the Christian emperors ; it will overflow on all sides in the Church. At the time where we now are the innovations in the form of the worship appear as yet small in number ; but there is less simplicity than heretofore in the discourses that are uttered before the members of the Church ; a more studied language is made use of. The use of incense begins to be introduced in divers places.

Baptism is preceded by exorcism. In every person, such is the supposition, there exists a devil, who is regarded as the author of the bad passions ; and the exorcist, by frightful cries and by threatening frauds, drives him out of the bodies of the Catechumens before they are consecrated to God by baptism. The newly baptised is girded with a crown, as a brave soldier of Christ ; he is clad in white which he wears for an entire week. The celebration of the Eucharist is performed mysteriously. The profane, that is, those who have not yet received baptism, remain on the outside, in imitation of what takes place in the Pagan mysteries. The ceremony is accompanied with longer prayers, and surrounded by more pomp and solemnity ; different innovations have crept in ; thus the Eucharist is administered to very young children, and in different places water is substituted for wine.

About the end of the third century the custom of fasting on Saturday is introduced at Rome, whence it passes into

all the western churches. The Easterns, on the contrary, abstain from all fasting on that day, and they make it a festival in the same manner as Sunday. At this time there are virgins consecrated to God and already the complaint is made that in secret they are unchaste. But their vow is not indissoluble ; they may break it to contract marriage. In the last period of the third century private confession is substituted for public confession, which drew after it scandals. In every church there is appointed, under the name of Penitencier, a priest, a discreet person, who is charged with the duty of hearing grave sins, and to fix the penalty to be undergone. But this institution will be of short duration. The clerics who have apostatised, or who have fallen into heresy, may, after undergoing due punishment, be restored to the bosom of the Church, but not in the ranks of the clergy. Sometimes the rigour of the discipline is attenuated by indulgence. The canonical penalty is mitigated either by shortening the time or by diminishing or removing the penalty. In this respect regard is paid to age, sex, weakness, or other circumstances, such as tears, urgent prayers, despair, danger of death, intercession of the confessors and the martyrs. There is great purity of morals among the Christians, a constant assiduity in prayers, in watchings, in fasts, and a glowing charity. Frequently the Synods pass canons for the maintenance of discipline. Nevertheless there is a slow decline from the primitive simplicity. Corruption spreads in the clergy as in the multitude. The government of the Church continues to be exercised by bishops, priests, and deacons, who constitute the clergy properly so called or the heads of divine worship. But below these three orders there appear others, of less importance, under the names of Readers, Acolytes, and Sub-deacons. These new orders do not take part in the administration of the Church, those who compose them are simple servants of the worship. The readers are consecrated by the imposition of hands ; their function is to read the sacred Scriptures in public.

The sub-deacons are employed in the most populous churches. They are subordinate to the deacons, whom they

assist in their duties. They also stand at the doors and conduct to places those who enter the edifice. The acolytes (followers) do not exist in the Oriental Church, but solely among the Latins. They are servants that follow the steps of the bishops, whose orders they execute, whether in public or in private. The exorcists did not at first form a distinct order from the priests and the deacons ; all believers could conjure and expel devils. But in the fourth century, the Eastern Church counts the exorcists in the inferior ranks of the sacred orders. There are also singers and porters. The first are confounded with the readers. The others, instituted in imitation of the Jewish worship, watch at the entrance of the Church, from which they keep strangers at a distance, as well as those to whom access is forbidden, whether for ever or for a certain time, such as ex-communicated persons, energumenes (the inspired), penitents, catechumens ; the same office is fulfilled also by the sub-deacons. Mention is also made of copiates or burriers, who see that at funerals everything is done with decency and order. The people also preserve a certain authority in the government of the Church. They take part in elections, ordinations, absolutions, penitence, and other affairs of some importance. But their power, which will more and more lessen under the Christian princes, tends to grow weak from this date, and to pass insensibly into the hands of the clergy.

The sacerdotal power increases day by day ; in common opinion the ministers of the Christian religion are assimilated to the Israelite priesthood. The bishop is the high priest of the Jews (the sovereign Pontiff among the Latins), the priests are the ordinary Jewish priests reproduced ; the Levites are found in the deacons and the inferior orders. This augmentation of consideration and power applies to the three first orders. The priests and the deacons, who are also called chiefs, pastors, rectors, are regarded as the colleagues and the assessors of the bishops, and take part with them in the direction of the affairs of the Church. With them also they have their part in the reproaches which frequently rise against clerical pride, ambition, and luxury.

However, the bishop's power is transcendent. His pre-eminence over the priests is henceforwards undisputed. He convokes and presides over the clergy ; he imposes hands in ordination ; he imposes them after baptism ; in the Church he has a throne where he sits above others ; he receives the name of high priest, pope, head or prince of the Church ; he sums up in himself the sacerdotal power.

The apostolical constitutions which are referred to the end of the third century, or to the first years of the fourth, describe the Episcopal dignity in these lofty terms :

"The bishop is like a god among men ; he is at the head of all mortals, priests, kings, princes, fathers, and sons, doctors—of all the world ; and equally all are subject to him" (ii. 11).

"The bishop is, for the flock, the minister of the Word, the guardian of knowledge, the mediator between God and them in divine worship ; after God, he is their father, their prince, their head, their king, their sovereign ; he is for them after God, a god on earth, to whom they are bound to render honour" (ii. 26).

The bishop, in his quality of head of the Church, is charged with distributing first-fruits, tithes, as well as all that remains of the oblations made by the worshippers. After having reserved what is needful for his own wants, he divides the surplus among the priests, the deacons, the deaconesses, the virgins, the widows, and the poor. The establishment of tithes, imitated from the Old Testament, goes back to the third century.

The power of the bishop over the laity is not confined to religious things ; it is equally acknowledged in civil affairs. Paul recommended to the disciples not to carry before the Gentiles differences which might arise among them, but to submit them to some wise man of their brethren (1 Cor. vi.) Thence arises the custom of recurring to the decision of the presbyters or the *Episcopoi*, who are accounted the wisest and most just of the Christian body. In course of time, the usage became law. At the end of the third century, that jurisdiction, obligatory for the believers, resides in the hands of the bishop, who exercises

it by himself or by ecclesiastics whom he delegates. The decisions of the bishops or of his deputies always receive obedience among the members of the Church ; canonical penalties would suppress resistance in civil matters as well as religious. In the punishment of the transgressions submitted to the bishop's tribunal, penalties vary in the measure of the criminality. They are not corporeal, but consist in reprimands, alms-givings, fasts, and for serious cases, exclusion from the Church. Christian society, having a legislative body in synods, chiefs and judges in the bishops and other members of the clergy, revenues in the product of the first-fruits, tithes, and offerings constitutes a distinct state in the very bosom of the empire. In every region, in every diocese, the metropolitan and the other bishops, organised in subordination from the head to the feet, after the manner of proconsuls and pretors, exercise governmental power over the people. Day after day their authority becomes more absolute. The desire to rule, so natural to man, incessantly leads them to trench on the rights of the lower orders and of Christian people. It seems even as if they are seconded by the concurrence of the populations. Those populations have neither the desire nor the idea of liberty. Habituated to the despotism of the evil governors, they do not think of setting limits to the power of the heads of their church. Far from that, they press around them during persecutions. Then they vividly feel the necessity of a dictatorship to concentrate their forces and to draw tightly the bonds of the Church in the midst of the assaults they have to endure. However different they may be from the priests or bishops instituted by the apostle Paul, no one, toward the end of the third century, thinks of contesting the power of the high officers of the Church. The constitutions and canons of the Church, which are then produced, correspond to the spirit of the age and give a definitive consecration to the authority of the priesthood and to the Episcopal supremacy.

One can understand how, apart from their religious opinions, the emperors are seriously occupied with such a state of things. Toward the end of the third century there

was, it is true, a necessity for them to dissolve the Christian association or to put themselves at its head. Diocletian and Galerius had recourse to violence. After ten years of persecution, they were compelled to acknowledge their defeat. Then there were no alternative but an alliance on the part of the imperial power with the religion of Jesus. Thus only could it be overcome; this was understood by Constantine.

CHAPTER IV.

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS, FABLES, AND LEGENDS.

SUMMARY—Divers Apocryphal Writings—The Recognitions and the Clementines—The Apostolic Constitutions—The Apostolic Canons—Fables and Legends on the Holy Family—Birth, Education, and Nuptials of Mary—Birth of Jesus—Journey into Egypt—Miracles of Jesus while an Infant—Death of Joseph—Silence of the Scriptures and the Fathers respecting Mary—Her apotheosis did not begin until the Sixth Century—The Brothers of Jesus—The Twelve Apostles—Legend on the Abode and the Death of Peter at Rome—Legends on the Other Apostles—Apostles' Creed—The Disciples of Jesus and the Apostles—Mark the Evangelist—Succession of Bishops before the Middle of the Second Century—Pontius Pilate.

IN our preliminary observations we said some words on the apocryphal books which appeared during the first ages of the Christian era. It is desirable here to return with more detail to those of these books which are anterior to the Council of Nice.

The most ancient go back to the end of the first century or the commencement of the second. They bear on the disagreement which existed between the Nazarenes or Ebionites and the disciples of Paul. But it is specially in the reign of Hadrian and the Antonines that a great number of works begin to spread under the name of supposititious authors. Most frequently they are owing to the incoming into Christianity of the philosophical and religious ideas of Greece and of the East ; it engenders a number of sects, each one of which publishes, for the sake of its cause, writings, which it presents as the work of the founders of the Christian religion. Other books are composed in view of the discussions which the Church sustains against the priests and the philosophers of Hellenism. Others narrate popular traditions respecting Jesus and his family ; others usurp the name of the Apostles in order to consecrate

usages, rites, institutions, or maxims which tend to prevail among the believers. Let us call to mind in the first place the apocryphal writings attributed to divers personages of the Old Testament, from the books of Adam and Enoch down to the testaments of the twelve patriarchs, and to the writings current under the name of Moses, David, Elijah, Isaiah, &c. Some of these works preceded the birth of Christ; they opened the way for fictitious compositions, in which the Christian sects dealt afterwards with so much ardour and persistence. The era of Christianity offers us in the first place a correspondence between Jesus and Abgarus, King of Edessa, which passed for true in the fourth century, and which Eusebius has transmitted to us with the pretended relations which existed between Christ and that petty king (i. 43). In the all but endless number of works which have been bestowed on the Apostles and the apostolic men, we cite, under the name of Peter, a *Gospel*, *Acts*, and *Preachings*, an *Apocalypse*, a *Book of Judgment*. Under the name of each of his eleven colleagues, *Gospels*, *Acts*, *Apocalypses*, *Liturgies*. Under the name of Paul, the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, an *Apocalypse*, *Apostolic Letters*. Under the name of Barnabas, a *Gospel*, an *Epistle*, long regarded as canonical. Under the name of James the Less or the Just, the *Protevangel*, a liturgy which he is said to have given to the Church in Jerusalem. Under the name of Clement of Rome, the *Recognitions*, the *Clementines*, *Epistles*, a *Liturgy*, and finally the *Constitutions* and the *Apostolic Canons*. Under the name of Hermas, the *Book of the Shepherd*, which the Fathers of the second and third century put into the rank of sacred scriptures.

Other apocryphal writings are given as proceeding from women or Gentiles; such are *The Letter of Mary of Castabalis to Ignatius*, written in Greek (whence in following centuries came the idea of fabricating one in Latin from the Virgin Mary to the same Ignatius); the *Letter of Pilate to Tiberius* on the death, resurrection, and the miracles of Christ; the *Acts of Pilate*; *Two Letters* of a pretended Lentulus, President of Jerusalem, to the Roman Senate and People, on

the figure, the shape, the doctrine and the miracles of Jesus Christ. We also possess on Mary, Joseph, and the infancy of Jesus, narratives or gospels, either anonymous or pseudonymous, the date of which is anterior to the fourth century, without the exact time being ascertainable. Among the men of the second century whose name served to authorise apocrypha, we mention

Ignatius the Martyr ; a double collection of letters is ascribed to him, one of six or seven, which divers critics suppose to be of the end of the second century or the beginning of the third ; the other of six, of which no one has spoken before the end of the sixth.

Theophilus of Antioch ; *Allegorical Commentaries* on the Four Gospels are supposed to be his.

Clement of Alexandria ; he is accounted the author of *Small Comments* on the First Epistle of Peter and on those of Jude and John.

Tertullian ; ascribed to him are a book *on the Trinity* ; a letter *on Jewish Meats*, *Small Poems*, those against Marcion, the others on the judgment of the Lord, on Genesis, on Sodom.

In the course of the same century Christian zeal composes, under the name of sibyls, poems full of predictions in favour of Jesus Christ and his Church. They are eagerly collected by the disciples, who set them in array against the Gentiles, as if the latter could have been misled as to their authenticity.

The apocryphal writings published under the name of the Fathers of the third century mostly appeared in later ages ; it is the same with a crowd of other works which are assigned to different persons of the two first centuries ; we shall speak of both. Among the apocrypha spread, before the year 325, under the name of personages of the first days of the Christian era, the most important are some of those that are ascribed to Clement of Rome.

In his Epistle to the Philippians (iv. 3), Paul speaks of Clement as a companion in his apostolic labours. It is at Philippi, a Roman colony, that he first assisted the apostle. In later days tradition takes Clement to Rome, where

during the last quarter of the first century, Linus, Cletus, and he directed in common the church of that city, under the name of presbyters or bishops (the two were the same). Troubles having arisen in the Church of Corinth, the members of that church consult that of Rome, where may still be found some of the latest auxiliaries of Paul. The reply is sent in the name of the Church of Rome, without any indication of the person by whom it was written. But tradition assigns the honour to Clement, the only writing accounted true among the works which bear his name. Moderns have raised doubts as to the existence of this Clement. They regard as apocryphal the letter of Paul to the Philippians, which they refer to the year 125. According to them, the tragic death of Flavius Clemens, a consular personage and Christian martyr, had inflamed the imaginations; and legend, which pays little attention to dates, made him the disciple of Peter and Paul, the first successor of Peter in the episcopal chair of Rome, and the author of various apocryphal pieces said to have come from the age of the Apostles. Without admitting the supposition as to the Epistle to the Philippians, we may believe that the tragic end of the consular dignitary, in throwing a greater lustre on the name of Clement, gave a free course to the zeal of the legendists. However, the First Epistle, written from Rome, to the Corinthians, appears anterior to the second century. Dionysius of Corinth (170-180) ascribes it to Clement, doubtless according to an ancient tradition, and testifies that it was read publicly in the churches of Greece, Asia Minor, and the East—a circumstance which would not a little contribute to give to its putative author greater celebrity in those regions. It is his high renown which referred to him different writings regarded after the Scriptures, as the most ancient and the most important. We refer to the *Recognitions*, the *Clementines*, the *Constitutions*, and the *Apostolic Canons*. The *Recognitions* and the *Clementines* are the same work with retouchings and various readings; the former seem to have for date the beginning of the third century, the others appeared thirty years later. Two older writings—the *Preaching of Peter*, and the *Travels*

of *Peter*—served as the basis of the *Recognitions*, in which, moreover, we find a kind of historical romance on Clement and his family, who are supposed to have been allied to the Emperor Tiberius. These are represented as present at struggles ascribed to Peter, and Simon the Magician, in several cities of Palestine, Phenicia, and Syria.

The author of these compositions, by the mouth of Peter and his disciples treats of the questions which were then debated on God, the creation, the immortality of the soul, the life to come. He makes the apostle observe divers practices of the Jewish law and frequently utter opinions which smack of Ebionism. From these circumstances it has been inferred that the work proceeded from some Nazarene ; but then there would have been interpolations, particularly in the passages where the trinity and the trinitarian baptism are concerned. Simon, on his side, professes the sentiments of the Syrian Gnostics touching the Supreme Being, the God of the Jews, the superior light, human souls, the world, &c. The recognitions, of which Origen first speaks, were given by him, and were long received by all as the work of Clement of Rome. They have greatly served to accredit the different fables that have been spread as to Peter and his pretended disciple. Their authority was great down to modern times, and they may still be advantageously studied for the philosophic and dogmatic opinions as well as for the manners and customs of their period. As to the constitution and the Apostolic Canons, which have equally passed for the work of Clement of Rome, it is now universally acknowledged that they come not from him nor the apostles. The constitutions seem to belong to the end of the third century ; but divers passages were intercalated in the following centuries. In general they reproduce opinions received at the end of the third century as to doctrines, morals, and discipline. The Canons have for their object the government of the Church, its rites, ceremonies, and especially ecclesiastical discipline. As to their number the Greeks and the Latins disagree ; the latter admitting only fifty, while the former receive eighty-five—the majority—the first fifty at least seem to have been collected toward the end of the third

century. They agree with the discipline and the writings of that period ; such are the Canons concerning the celebration of the Pascal day, the reception of the lapsed, the fresh baptism of heretics, frequent communion, the orders of the clerics, the pre-eminence of bishops and metropolitans, the non-observation of the Sabbath day, &c. A certain number of Canons, especially among the thirty-five last of the Greeks, were interpolated in the fifth or the sixth century. These Constitutions and these Canons were called apostolic because they passed for having been transmitted by the apostles, as well as the institutions and doctrines which they consecrate. It is in the fifth century that they were ascribed to Clement who was then considered as the disciple of Peter and Paul. The Canons prevailed after the Council of Nice both in the east and the west, although they were marked as apocryphal in the decree of Gelasius. Among the writings which we have enumerated, some, we have said, contain legends on Mary and her family, on Joseph, and on the infancy of Jesus. The two first chapters of Luke gave the signal in this matter ; but these narratives were singularly amplified by apocryphal Gospels. However little worthy of a serious examination, we cannot pass in silence those compositions produced by the love of the marvellous collected with childish credulity, authorised by the suffrage of the ancient Fathers, received even to-day, in certain Churches, and from which the arts and poetry of the middle ages largely drew their inspiration. Let us first run over the relations of Luke and Matthew before applying to the commentaries and the additions of the legends. It is probable that the different parts of the two first chapters of those evangelists were produced at different times ; they seem independent one of the other and sometimes even opposed. The genealogies establish the filiation of Jesus as a descendant from David, and that with the view of demonstrating how Jesus is of the posterity of that monarch. It is then evident that they are anterior to the epoch when it was said that Christ was not the son of Joseph, and that he was conceived in his mother's womb by the pure effect of the divine power. When this opinion prevailed in the legends they

had not the less been affixed to the genealogies without regard to the contradiction which existed between the two. A passage in Isaiah (vii. 14) announced as a sign that a virgin (others say a young woman according to the Hebrew) would become with child and bring forth a son that would be called Immanuel. Some Nazarenes, applying this passage to Jesus, inferred that He was conceived in Mary's womb without her ceasing to be a virgin. But notwithstanding this supernatural conception, Christ in their opinion was none the less a pure man ; he was a new Adam whom God had formed in his mother's womb. When Mary comes on the stage in the gospel of Matthew, she is affianced to Joseph and already with child. An angel of the Lord comes to inform him that she has conceived of the Holy Spirit, and Joseph, docile to the angel's counsels, receives Mary as his wife. The evangelist adds that he did not know her until she had given birth to her first-born son ; which implies that he knew her afterwards and had other children by her, a view which agrees with the mention of brothers and sisters of Jesus several times repeated in the gospels. The popular imagination is prolific in marvellous statements on the birth of celebrated men. It takes pleasure in representing their infancy as exposed to perils and persecutions which elevate them in the mind of the multitude. A similar inclination is understood the more readily in regard to Jesus since analogous stories circulated among the Jews on Moses, the first liberator of Israel. The dangers which he ran in his infancy and on which the national legends spoke freely, soon gave course, among the Nazarenes, to accounts of the same nature on the infancy of Jesus, that other redeemer of Israel, that prophet like Moses and surpassing him in the greatness of his mission. In the number of the prophecies which it was usual to apply to the future Christ, stood that of Balaam, in which he is spoken of as "a star out of Jacob" (Numb. xxiv. 17). The Messiah was to be that star which should strike the enemies of Israel and extend to a distance its power and dominion. In Numbers the word star figuratively designates a powerful chief who should go forth out of the tribe of Jacob ; popular tradi-

tion, cleaving to the literal sense, represented that a veritable star would be the presage of the birth of Christ ; accordingly the Magi, who in those times had the privilege of astrological science, intervene in the legend recounted by Matthew. Another passage of Scripture (Micah v. 2) caused the birth of Jesus to be placed at Bethlehem, although he was a native of Nazareth.

Herod, a powerful and cruel monarch, the recollection of whom was still living among the populations of Judea, is chosen by legend to be the persecutor of Jesus, as Pharaoh had been of Moses. Accordingly it makes him order the massacre of all children under two years of age, to serve as a counterpart to the extermination of the male children of Israel commanded by the King of Egypt. Moses had fled into a foreign land to avoid the anger of that prince ; in the same way the parents of Jesus take him down into Egypt, to save him from that of the Jewish king. Jesus returns after the death of Herod, as did Moses after Pharaoh's death. In the return from Egypt the narrator also exhibits the accomplishment of this word :—"I have called my son out of Egypt" (Hos. xi. 2), in applying to Christ that word son which in the prophet designates the people of Israel personified.

The greater part of the first chapter of Luke is a legend on the birth of John the Baptist. Had it for object to connect more intimately the mission of the latter with the preaching of Christ ? Was it the work of some disciple of the Baptist, who had become Christian, of Apollos for example ? The principal features of that narrative are borrowed from the histories of Isaac, Joseph, Samson, and Samuel. Luke says nothing of the suspicions conceived by Joseph at the discovery that his spouse was with child. From John's birth his gospel passes immediately to the journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem, which opens the second chapter. After Mary's delivery and the homage of the shepherds, Luke limits himself to recounting the facts which had taken place in conformity with the Mosaic law, that is the circumcision of the child, the purification of the mother, the presentation of the child in the temple in his

quality as the first-born ; to this presentation are added the legendary personages of the old man Simeon and Anna the prophetess, of whom Luke makes use for extolling the Messianic character of the newly-born babe as Matthew with the same purpose has made use of the star, the magi, and King Herod. If you compare the two accounts together you find that they agree in declaring that Mary conceived by a supernatural force, that Jesus was her first-born son, that he came into the world at Bethlehem. On all the rest there is disagreement between them.

According to Matthew, Joseph and Mary had their home at Bethlehem, and dwelt at Nazareth only after their return from Egypt (ii. 1, 22-23). On the contrary, Luke makes them live at Nazareth during Mary's time of child-bearing ; they went only accidentally to Bethlehem, where Jesus first saw the light, and they returned home immediately after the presentation in the temple. The version of Matthew contradicts the journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem and all the circumstances connected with it ; the version of Luke in its turn excludes the abode in Bethlehem, the worship of the Magi, the massacre of the innocents, the journey into Egypt.

The two gospels differ not less on the time of the Messiah's birth. Matthew places it in the days of King Herod, while according to the second chapter of Luke, it took place at the time of the census of Quirinus, that is at least ten years later. Which of the two is to be believed ? Apparently neither. Matthew makes Jesus to have been born of Herod, because he needs that king for the homage of the Magi, the massacre of the infants, and the flight into Egypt. Luke refers the birth to the time of the census to assign by that hypothesis a reason of the journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem. In his first chapter, it is true, Luke places John's conception (and consequently that of Jesus) in the days of King Herod ; this is a flagrant contradiction of what he afterwards says in the second. Both dates of the birth of Jesus (under Herod and at the time of the census) are moreover falsified by the same Luke who in his third chapter shows that Jesus entered on his thirtieth year in the

fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius (783-704 u.c.), that is, thirty-three for thirty-four years after Herod's death (750), and twenty-three or twenty-four years after the census of Quirinus (760), that which would take the birth of Christ to three or four years after the first event and to six or seven years after the second.

The disagreement of Luke and Matthew would suggest that the legends were not born in the same country. Matthew's narrative had its origin in Palestine. That of Luke beyond a doubt made its appearance in Hellenic countries; it may have been drawn up before the translation into Greek of the gospel of Matthew, whose legend would then be unknown to Luke.

But the chapters of these two evangelists on the supernatural conception, the birth, and the infancy of Christ, were far from satisfying the ardent curiosity of the Christian populace. Both of them observed silence on facts anterior to the evangelical annunciation, on Mary's parents, on her birth, her education, her nuptials. They related nothing of what had taken place either during the sojourn in Egypt, or after the return, except the visit to the temple. In another way, far from presenting Joseph as having had children by a first marriage, far from making him an old man, and still less a perpetual bachelor, they say that he had conjugal relations with Mary after the birth of Jesus and that other children were the fruit of their union. The legends undertook to supplement the silence of the gospels and at the same time to preserve all her virginal purity for Mary. With them Joseph becomes her guardian rather than her husband or her intended husband; he is a man advanced in years, even a nonagenarian, to whose care she has been entrusted. The brothers and sisters of Jesus are changed into children of Joseph by a former marriage; then toward the fifth century these brothers are no longer first cousins, and Joseph passes for having lived in constant bachelorhood.

We are about to give an extract of the principal of these legends, *The Gospel of the Infancy*, which has long been considered as a fifth gospel, and which was very popular,

especially in Egypt.—*The Protevangelium of James* certain narratives of which have been preserved by the Greek liturgies. *The Gospel of the Nativity of St Mary*, very celebrated in the East during several centuries and in the West during all the middle ages. *The Gospel of Thomas the Israelite*, where you find a Gnostic tendency. *The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary and the Infancy of the Saviour*, which has drawn its principal features from the Protevangelium and the Gospel of the Infancy. *The History of Joseph the Carpenter*, in which are found the details which were current in the third century on the life and the death of the virgin's husband.

According to the legends, Mary is born in Galilee. Her father bears the name of Joachim and her mother Anna, both of the tribe of Judah and of the race of David. They had been married twenty-four years without having any child. At the time of the festival of the Lord, Joachim, having gone to Jerusalem to make his offerings, is repelled by the priest because he has no progeny in Israel. Full of shame and affliction, he withdraws to some shepherds who keep their flock, and long remains with them.

Anna, however, deplores her widowhood and her sterility. But, at the great festival of the Lord, she lays down her mourning garments, ornaments her head, puts on nuptial attire, and, going down into the garden, addresses a prayer to God who blessed Sarah's womb. An angel appears, and announces to her that she shall soon conceive, and that her race shall be distinguished all over the world. Anna vows to consecrate the child to the service of the Lord. The angel carries a similar message to Joachim, who takes animals into his flock, and, accompanied by shepherds, returns to his house, where Anna was waiting for him at the door. The next day, Joachim presents his offering; Anna conceives, and, the ninth month, she brings forth a girl, who is named Mary.

At the age of three years, Mary is conducted to the temple of the Lord by her parents, who leave her in the enclosure reserved for virgins. She is brought up in the temple as a dove. The angels bear to her nutriment, and

obey her with entire deference ; by simple touch she heals sicknesses. When she has reached the age of twelve or fourteen (the legends vary), the priests ask her to whom she will be married. According to the command of the Lord, the high priest enjoins on whosoever is without wife in the tribe of Judah to bring a staff to the altar. Now in that tribe, and in the family of David, was Joseph, a native of Bethlehem, and by trade a carpenter. A former marriage had made him the father of four sons and two daughters ; having become a widower, he laboured at his business with his sons.

Joseph then comes with others. The high priest takes the staves, and goes into the sanctuary to pray. On his coming out, he restores to each his staff. From that of Joseph flies a dove, which rests upon his head. The high priest then declares to him that he is designated to receive the virgin of the Lord. Joseph wishes to avoid the charge, alleging his own age and his children. But the high priest having threatened him with God's wrath, he submits, and takes Mary into his house. Five virgins accompany her, and remain there with her while Joseph goes to work in another land. The angel of the Lord offering himself to Mary near a fountain, and afterwards in her house, reveals to her that the virtue of God will overshadow her, and that she will give birth to a Holy One, who will be the Son of God. Joseph, returning after several months, perceives that Mary is with child. He reproaches her, and she protests her innocence in the midst of bitter tears. The five virgins bear testimony to her pious demeanour ; they declare that no one could have made her a mother but the angel of the Lord. "It is possible," replies Joseph, "that some one has feigned to be the angel of the Lord in order to deceive her." He purposes to send her away secretly ; but the angel appears to him in a dream and informs him that Mary has conceived of the Holy Spirit. Then Joseph glorifies the God of Israel. Meanwhile Mary's condition gets abroad. The high priest sends for them both. On the reproaches which he addresses to them, they take God to witness, Mary that she has known no man, Joseph that he

is free of all commerce with her. The high priest makes them drink the water of trial in presence of the people. No sin appearing in them, they are dismissed acquitted. Joseph, full of joy, takes Mary for his wife, but without having any connection with her. In the Gospel of the Nativity the marriage is celebrated at Nazareth, where Mary dwells with her parents. The ninth month of the conception approaching, Joseph takes her into his dwelling at Bethlehem; and there she gives birth to her first-born. According to other legends, on the contrary, Joseph dwells at Nazareth; and Mary, on leaving the temple, is conducted into Joseph's house. A decree issued by the Emperor Augustus, ordering a general census, Joseph and Mary mount an ass, and put themselves on the road to Bethlehem, where they are to have their names entered. On the way, Mary feels much pressed. Joseph leads her into a cavern, and goes to seek a midwife. While on the road, he seems to see everything turned topsy-turvy, and the action of Nature everywhere suspended. He returns, accompanied by two midwives. The cavern offers itself to them covered with a luminous cloud. He enters with one of the women. The interior shines with a splendour surpassing that of the mid-day sun. That light subsiding by little and little, they see the infant suspended from its mother's bosom. According to one of the legends, Jesus is clad in swaddling-clothes and lying in a cradle, which was found in the cavern. The midwife is astounded at seeing Mary a virgin, although a mother and nurse. She goes out to relate the miracle to Salome, the other midwife. She, refusing to believe it, enters into the cavern to ascertain the truth. But as soon as she touches Mary, her hand, burnt by a devouring fire, falls, and separates from her arm. On her knees she implores the Divine pity. The angel of the Lord makes her take the infant into her arms, and suddenly she is made whole.

Shepherds, attracted by the song of the angels, come to worship the babe. The third day Mary, leaving the cavern, enters into a stable, where the infant is placed in a cradle; he is worshipped by the ox and the ass. On the sixth day

he is taken to' Bethlehem. At the time of his circumcision the midwife takes charge of the foreskin, and puts it into an alabaster vase filled with spikenard. This is the same spikenard that was afterwards shed on the head and on the feet of Jesus by Mary the sinner. The child is carried to Jerusalem. At the expiration of the forty days he is presented in the Temple with the offerings required by the law. The aged Simeon, one hundred and thirteen years of age, sees Jesus brilliant with splendour, as a column of light, while he is carried in his mother's arms. A crowd of angels surround him, celebrating his praises. Simeon blesses the Lord's Christ. The prophetess Anna gives thanks to God, and proclaims Mary's felicity. Magi come from Oriental lands to Jerusalem. They had in their own country seen the infant's star arise. Its splendour threw into eclipse that of all others which can no longer be seen in the skies. It appears to them again on the road to Bethlehem, and stands above the place where the child is laid. After the magi have presented their offerings, they receive as a gift from Mary one of the swaddling clothes which covered her son. They return home, avoiding to pass through Jerusalem. In a solemn festival of their country, the cloth given them by Mary is thrown into the flames, which surround it without at all doing it injury. When the fire is put out, the magi take out the cloth, kiss it, and place it among their treasures with great veneration. Herod, furious at being evaded, puts to death all the children that are at Bethlehem, from twenty years downwards. In the Protevangile, Mary is still in Bethlehem when the massacre begins. Seized with fear, she wraps her child with swaddling-clothes, and puts him into the manger of the oxen. The other legends send an angel to give Joseph warning, and make him set out for Egypt with the mother and the child.

The Protevangile relates also in what manner John the Baptist escaped from death. Elizabeth, informed that her son is sought after, flees into the mountains, carrying him with her. Not discovering any place suitable for concealing him, she asks the mountain to receive them both. Suddenly

it opens and shelters them in its sides. A miraculous light illumines them, the angel of the Lord watches over them. Meanwhile Herod asks Zacharias where his son is, the holy man replying that he does not know, people are sent who kill him in the vestibule of the temple, near the balustrade of the altar. Lot points out as to take his place the aged Simeon to whom it had been foretold that he would not die without having seen the Christ. Matthew says nothing of what took place during the journey into Egypt, nor after the return until the preaching of John the Baptist. Luke is equally silent as to the time of the life of Jesus anterior to His baptism, except his visit to the temple at the age of twelve. This silence of the two evangelists is agreeable to the Jewish tradition, according to which the Messiah was to be ignorant of himself until the day when the Holy Spirit should descend upon him. But the zeal of the legends could not stop there ; the whole space between the massacre of the innocents and the visit to the temple is for them filled with circumstances in which there prevails a series of miracles most often puerile, sometimes eccentric and grotesque. Let us pass rapidly over some of these tales. In proceeding from Judea into Egypt, the travellers come to a cavern whence issue a multitude of dragons. The parents are seized with alarm ; but Jesus, descending from his mother's arms, stands erect before the dragons, who, when they have worshipped him, retire. Again, in his cradle, he says to his mother, (in the Gospel of the Infancy) "I whom thou hast brought forth am Jesus, the Son of God, the word as was announced to thee by the angel Gabriel ; and my Father has sent me for the salvation of the world." The legends on Moses also make him walk and speak as soon as he is born. During the passage through the desert, lions, leopards, and other savage beasts come and worship Jesus, precede and accompany him on the way without doing harm to any one, not even to the beasts of burden and other animals which are with him.

The next day Mary exhausted by the heat of the sun sits down under the shade of a palm tree and desires some of the fruit to eat. On his side Joseph is uneasy in

seeing that there is no water in the skins. At the bidding of Jesus the palm lowers its branches and all eat of its fruit. When it rises again there comes forth from its roots a source of fresh limpid water. The next day at the moment of departure Jesus commands a branch of this palm tree to be planted in paradise. The angel of the Lord comes and detaches one which he bears into heaven. The travellers, incommoded by the extreme heat, think of taking the way of the sea, to sojourn in the cities of the coast, Jesus promises to abridge the road ; the journey of thirty days shall be accomplished in a single one. He again speaks, when on a sudden the mountains and the cities of Egypt are seen. They enter a city where there is an idol held in great veneration. At the approach of the holy family the idol falls and breaks to pieces as well as the other idols of the country. Their fall brings together all the peoples of Egypt. The legends on Moses report that on his birth all the idols of Egypt broke into pieces by tumbling on their faces. The travellers arrive at the retreat of robbers who held captive passers-by whom they had despoiled. At the approach of the infant, those robbers fancy they hear the noise of the retinue of a king who is advancing to the sound of instruments, with a great army and a numerous cavalry. They take to flight abandoning their booty. The prisoners become free, ask where is this king whose train they have heard. "He comes after us," replies Joseph. In traversing a desert during the night, Jesus and his parents fall into the midst of a band of robbers who are asleep, except two named Titus and Damachus. The first obtains by money from his comrade the favour that the holy family shall pass on in peace. Jesus says to his mother that in thirty years those two robbers shall be put on a cross by his side, Titus on his right hand, Damachus on his left. Titus shall precede him into paradise. The gospel of Nicodemus calls these two robbers Dimas and Gastas. To divers recitals of this kind add expulsions of devils, cures of diseases or sorcery obtained by a simple touch by Jesus or his linen and clothes, or by the water in which the babe has been washed, or other nursery resources, and you will have an idea pretty nearly com-

plete of the legends on the journey into Egypt. At length the holy family arrives at Memphis where Pharaoh offers himself to their eyes. At the end of three years (one year according to the legend of Joseph) it returns into the land of Israel. In the fear of Archilaus who reigns in Judea in the place of Herod his father, the angel of the Lord advises Joseph to settle at Nazareth in Galilee. Notwithstanding this counsel (which is followed in the history of Joseph) the gospel of the infancy conducts the family to Bethlehem, where Jesus does a number of miracles, the more remarkable of which we shall cite. Two women married to the same man had each a sick child. One of them cures her child by making it a coat from one of Jesus' swaddling clothes; the son of the other dies the same day. Thence arise great disagreements between the women. She who has lost her child throws the child of the other into a burning furnace. But suddenly the furnace becomes cool. (A similar fact is reported in the legends on Moses.) Another woman had a son, by name Judas, who was tormented by the devil. She carries him to Mary, Jesus was then playing with other children out of the house. Judas sits down on his right hand, and when Satan begins to agitate the boy, he tries to bite Jesus, giving him blows on the right side. Mary's son begins to weep and Satan comes out of Judas. Now this was the same Judas Iscariot who subsequently betrayed Jesus, and the side which he had struck was opened by the soldier's lance. About the age of seven years Jesus was playing with other children. With moistened earth they formed figures of animals, such as wolves, asses, and birds. Those Jesus makes go and come at his command. His birds fly, alight, eat, drink, according to his desires. Joseph, who was not very skilful in his trade, took Jesus with him when he went to work in the city. The work was not of the required dimensions, Jesus extended his hand and everything fitted forthwith. The king of Jerusalem having ordered of Joseph a throne in certain indicated proportions the latter spends two years in the palace in fabricating it; but when it is meant to set it up in its place it lacks two spithames (about eighteen inches.) The king falling into a

passion, Joseph full of alarm, goes to bed fasting. Jesus restores his confidence. He takes the throne on one side and Joseph on the other, and each drawing it to himself the wood stretches so as to become of the right size. Jesus had ranged around him a number of boys, as if he was their king. He was seated on their garments with his head crowned with flowers ; and when some one passed by, he was compelled to worship the king by the children. There came some men carrying on a litter an infant who was dying from the bite of a serpent. The children make him salute their king. Jesus on hearing of the misfortune, takes all the party with him, men and children, to go and kill the reptile. When they are near its hole, he sends the serpent to suck out the poison running through the veins of the victim. After which Jesus curses it and makes it burst. Then Jesus touches the infant who is suddenly cured. As the child begins to cry Jesus says to him, "Cease thy tears, thou shalt be my disciple." And that child was "Simon the Canaanite," (Matt. x. 4.). One day, Jesus at his mother's orders, is going to fetch some water from a well. The jug when filled breaks while he lifts it up. Then extending his mantle he receives the water in its folds and carries it to his mother. His parents place him under a schoolmaster named Zaccheus ; the child soon proves to his master that he is the wiser of the two. He is taken to another master. Jesus, on entering the school, confidently takes up a book, but, instead of reading, he speaks according to the impulse of the Holy Spirit and teaches the law to those present. A great crowd comes round him. Joseph runs up affrighted. The master requests him to remove the boy, whose grace and wisdom he commends.

At seed time Jesus goes with his father to sow seed in their fields. While Joseph is at work the child takes a seed and puts it into the soil. This seed produces so much corn that Jesus distributes it to all the indigent of their village and the surplus is carried away by Joseph. The child of one of Joseph's work people was dead and his mother wept much. Jesus puts his hand on its chest bidding him revive and remain with his family. Immediately

the child sits up and laughs. The people astounded cry out that the author of that miracle is a god or the angel of the Lord. Jesus goes away to play with other children. The Apocryphal Gospels terminate by the history of the journey of Jesus to Jerusalem in his twelfth year and describe that journey with divers details. The gospel of the infancy adds that from that day Jesus begins to conceal his miracles, his secrets, and his mysteries, and this he does until the age of thirty, a time at which his mission is publicly manifested on the banks of the Jordan by a voice heard from the heights of heaven. The sacred scripture reports nothing on Jesus and his family from the visit to the temple until the preaching of John. Nowhere is mention made of Joseph during that interval. This silence authorises the belief that Jesus' father had ceased to live before Jesus himself had reached his thirtieth year. The legends fill up the gap.

According to their report he remained a bachelor until the age of forty. He then passed forty-nine years with his first wife. A year after her death, Mary was confided to his care that he might have charge of her until the time of the nuptials. In the fourth year of her sojourn she gave birth to Jesus. Joseph then was at the time ninety-three years of age. He died in his one hundred and eleventh year. Now, says the legend, Joseph experienced no bodily infirmity while growing old. He preserved his eyes and his teeth. His limbs were whole and exempt from pain; his mind completely lucid. Justus and Simon, his two eldest sons, were settled and dwelt in the families of their wives. His two sons were also married and lived with them. In the house of Joseph there remained Jude and James, his sons, with Mary and Jesus. However the angel of the Lord announces to the old man that the hour of his death is near. He goes to Jerusalem and prays in the sanctuary of the temple. Returning to Nazareth, he falls sick (for the first time since his birth), and suffers much. The day of his death he utters sighs, strikes his hands, wails, crying woe to each of his members. Jesus approaches and inquires after his condition. At the sound

of his voice, Joseph becomes calm, and calls him his comforter, his protector, his god, his Lord, the true Son of God. On the appearance of the signs of death, Jesus holds Joseph's hands for the space of an hour, and seizes his soul ready to escape from his throat. Mary calls to their father's side the sons and the daughters of Joseph; all the family weeps and groans. Jesus turning toward the south perceives death, who approaches with all the powers of the abyss, their armies and their satellites. He drives death back and his ministers by invoking his merciful Father. Michael and Gabriel take Joseph's soul and wrap it in a shining pall, and guarding it against the devils, who are on its road, carry it to the abodes of the blessed. Jesus addresses words of consolation to Joseph's children. Inhabitants of Nazareth and from all Galilee come to weep with them. A choir of angels appears, two of whom cover the body of Joseph in a lustrous wrapper. Jesus declares that this body shall remain without corruption till the festival of a thousand years. He promises to bless all those who shall make offerings, gifts, and alms on Joseph's commemoration day. The principal inhabitants of the city carry the body to the sepulchre. Jesus weeps a long time and pronounces the last farewell; Joseph is deposited in the tomb by the side of his father, James. Jesus himself is represented in the legend as narrating to the Apostles the death of Joseph. They are astonished that he has not been made immortal, like Enoch and Elijah. Jesus replies that on account of the disobedience of Adam all men must die, as the Father hath decreed. Enoch and Elijah are still alive with the same bodies as they had at their birth, because they will return into this world at the end of time and lose life in the day of terrors and the great commotion; for antichrist will slay four persons, that is Enoch, Elijah, Schila, and Tabitha. The narration of legends which we have gone through is confined to the birth and education of Mary, to the conception and first years of her son, without defining what relations existed between her and her son after the birth of the Christ. Luke and Matthew, indeed say, in their two first chapters, that Mary conceived, being

still a virgin, but at the same time they let the reader understand that after the birth of Jesus conjugal relations were established between the couple. In all the New Testament you see nothing which tends to indicate that the brothers given to Jesus were not the fruit of those ulterior relations. The legends of Luke and Matthew have only the Christ in view, and restrict themselves to relating his miraculous conception. But that Mary was afterwards the real wife of Joseph, appeared quite simple to Israelites ; marriage with them was holy and it was not a part of the legislation of Moses to honour perpetual virginity.

It was not the same in the Hellenic Church of the second and third centuries. Ascetic ideas prevailing there more and more, the thought soon came of guarding Mary pure from all marital contact. It no longer sufficed that she was a virgin until the birth of Jesus, it is resolved that she remained such all her life. The legends suppose first that the brothers of Jesus were born of a first marriage of Joseph, then that he was solely the affianced, the guardian and not the husband of Mary, and finally, that he was in extreme old age when she was confided to him. In the fourth century they went further still ; Joseph himself is made to live a bachelor ; the brothers of Jesus are first cousins. In the midst of these variations on the intimate relations of Mary and Joseph, the legends, at the time of the Council of Nice, do not pass beyond the death of the latter in their reports touching the holy family. Till then they observed a profound silence on the ulterior events of Mary's existence. History, on its side, knows nothing more in this respect than what is transmitted to us by the acts of the apostles. You read there that Mary, as well as the brothers of Jesus, were at Jerusalem in the interval, from the resurrection to Pentecost, praying with the disciples and the holy women (i. 14). The Epistles of Paul (1 Cor. ix. 5 ; Gal. ii.) agree with the Acts (xv., xxi.) to testify that the brothers of the Lord joined the twelve for the preaching of the Gospel. But of the mother of Christ no mention is made either in the other chapters of the Acts or in the Epistles of the Apostle to the Gentiles. No passage of Scripture informs

us what became of her after the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles. Eusebius does not speak of her in his ecclesiastical history. He does indeed report on Jesus, his brothers, his apostles, and his disciples a number of legends which he gives as ascertained facts ; but he keeps absolute silence on the last years of Mary ; it is the same with the other fathers of the four first centuries. Neither in the Scripture, nor in the fathers of the first centuries, nor in the apocrypha of the same time do we see, apart from her temporary or perpetual virginity, Mary differing in anything from other women, that she has any superhuman privilege, any exemption from the infirmities of our nature. In the eyes of the fathers she is a pious woman, whose virtues have gained for her the honour of being the mother of the Messiah ; but none the less does she remain subject to all the accidents of humanity. Origen says that she was holy and versed in the knowledge of the law, that by daily meditation she became acquainted with the testimonies of the prophets. But this same Origen affirms that after her delivery, Mary, like all other women, had need of purification, that she sinned sometimes like other human beings, even the most holy. And this doctrine touching Jesus' mother is not contested by anyone either before the Council of Nice or even much later. In the fourth century it was held that no one, Mary not excepted, was exempt from original sin or conceived immaculately. Down to the beginning of the third century, Mary is called only the mother of Jesus or of the Christ ; it is solely that to begin with Origen the Christotheists affect to give her the name of the mother of God. But her real apotheosis does not begin till in the fifth or sixth century.

In regard to the brothers of Jesus, we have just reminded the reader that after his death they united with the apostles for the work of preaching the Gospel. Nothing more is known of the fate of them individually, except James, whom Paul and the Acts represent as one of the chiefs of the community of Jerusalem. In later times he is made the first bishop of that city. Eusebius has transmitted to us, on his death, a passage from Hegesippus

which presents all the qualities of a legend : "James," says Hegesippus, "was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine, no intoxicating liquour. He abstained completely from animal food. He never had his hair cut. He used neither baths nor perfumes. Alone among all, he had the right and the power of penetrating into the inner sanctuary. He was clad, not in wool, but linen. He was accustomed to enter the temple alone, and to pray on his knees for the sins of the people. His singular justice procured for him the name of the just." These evidently legendary details ascribe to James acts and rights which were peculiar to the High Priest of the Jews, such as the introduction into the sanctuary, the linen robe, prayers for the people. The same Hegesippus recounts the death of James with circumstances not less incredible. We find also in the historian, Josephus, a notice relative to this brother of Jesus, which seems to have been interpolated by some Christian hand. The Acts of the Apostles inform us (xxi.) that at the time of Paul's last journey to Jerusalem James was at the head of the Nazarenes of that city (verse 59), all else that is said on this subject has no solid foundation. The same legendary spirit is found in the narratives of Hegesippus on the descendants of Jude, another brother of the Lord (Euseb. III., 19, 20). Domitian, he says, having commanded all those who were issues of the race of David to be put to death, descendants of Jude were brought before him by heretics. Conducted before the emperor, who, according to the writer, dreaded the coming of Christ, they confessed that they drew their origin from David. But their replies, showing that they were poor people, who lived on the labour of their hands, the prince despised the lowness of their condition, and set them at liberty. Hegesippus adds that these descendants of Jude presided afterwards over the churches as martyrs and relations of Christ, and that their life was prolonged to the reign of Trajan. After having gone through the legends which were current on Jesus and his family at the commencement of the fourth century, it remains for us to see what was then recounted of his apostles and disciples. The darkness which covers

the last times of the life of the twelve may, we have said, be connected with the struggle of the Jews against the Romans, which lasted from the year 65 to the year 73. In that interval, the apostles either died of old age or in the disasters of the war, or through the hatred of the Jews whom nothing restrained any longer. Their mission was to announce the Gospel to the Israelites, not to the Gentiles. Excepting Peter's journey to Antioch, and the date of Babylon given in his first epistle, nothing in Scripture indicates that any of them ever quitted Palestine. Had any of them made the venture, it could have been only to visit the provinces of Syria and Babylonia, where their tongue was spoken, and where dwelt a crowd of men of their nation. According to what they declare themselves in the Jerusalem Conference (verse 51), they had, till then, preached the good news only to Jews, and they purposed to do the same in future. The New Testament agrees with the authentic monuments of the first century to show that they kept their word in that respect. In such a state of mind, it cannot seem strange that none of them ever appeared in any Greek or Latin country any more than in Egypt and Asia Minor. The contrary would rightfully call forth astonishment. But this real state of things, which no one questioned at the end of the first century, and in the first third of the second, did not harmonise with the ideas which spread among the Christian multitudes. They would have it that the twelve had exercised their mission in all parts of the world ; and under the silence of history, legends undertook to establish it by fictitious narratives.

We have already in our preliminary observations pointed out the mistake which confounds John the presbyter of Ephesus with the apostle John, son of Zebedee. We have equally shown in our first chapter that the apostle Peter never went to Rome, and we have promised to seek, in the present chapter of fables and legends, what is the origin of the tradition which makes him preach and die in that city. The examination of the passage which refers to Peter and to Paul in the first epistle of Clement, has proved to us on one side that Paul was put to death not in the capital of

the empire, but at the extremity of the West, and on the other, that Peter, after having suffered several times and given his testimony, went to receive his reward, but without any notice as to the time, the nature, and the place of his death. This passage, which clearly excludes the idea of a punishment simultaneously undergone at Rome by the two apostles, seems nevertheless to have been one of the principal sources whence proceeded the legends on the abode of Peter in that city and on the tragical end which the apostle to the Gentiles found there at the same time. It is necessary to remember that, in the first centuries, Clement's epistle was in some sort received as a sacred scripture, and read publicly in the Churches of Greece, Asia Minor, and all the Hellenic lands. This habitual reading singularly favoured the opinions which legend had got possession of. Clement said nothing else but that Peter and Paul were persecuted through envy, which caused the death of one on the confines of the West and made the other several times endure sufferings before God called him to himself. But in ceaselessly hearing in the epistle the death of the two apostles mentioned close together, the Greek Churches came to believe that they perished at the same time, and as the letter came from Rome, at Rome the hearers placed their simultaneous punishment in thought. It was supposed that Clement had been the disciple of the one as of the other, and the ocular witness of their death. The circumstance that, according to the epistle, Paul perished in the extremities of the West, checked few minds, if even it did not confirm them in the opinion that Rome was the place of his execution. Italy is a western country in relation to Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt ; it bore among the Greeks the name of Hesperia or land of the setting sun, whence the Hellenists were naturally led to make of its capital the theatre of the events of which the letter speaks. At that time geographical conceptions were little diffused ; the Hellenic populations scarcely knew Gaul, Spain, and the semi-barbarous countries which lay beyond Italy. If we take into account the difficulties of inter-communication, we may declare that then between the Greek or Asiatic regions

and the West of Europe there were less frequent relations than now exist between that same Western Europe and the most distant nations of the globe. Among the Latin regions Italy and Africa proper were alone in habitual relations with the Greeks and Orientals; the other provinces of the West were lost for them in a kind of unknown distance.

The epistle saying then that Paul had perished in the extremity of the West, the multitudes would easily explain this, to the effect that he died in the capital of Italy, the only western land which they heard frequently mentioned. But it is evident also that such was not the thought of the author of the epistle, who, writing from Rome could not but know that he was there in the centre of the empire and not at one of its extremities. Spain is the only country to which his expressions would correspond, and in that they agree with the design of going thither which the apostle had when he left the Hellenic lands. After two years of captivity in Rome, as soon as he had recovered his liberty, he resumed his original project of going into Spain, where he was put to death by the authorities. No other sense can be given to Clement's words. If you call to mind the evils endured as much by Peter as by Paul, you see that it is the intention of offering in them illustrious examples of the evils that envy may engender, and not to make them perish in the same time and in the same place. But the Christian populace made a mistake. Clement associated the two in the example, the popular legend associated them in suffering and death. Another circumstance must have encouraged the belief of a journey of Peter to Rome, and of his having preached all across the provinces of Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece; we refer to the disagreement which in the earliest days manifested itself between the Nazarenes and the Christians of Gentile lands. The former reproached the latter with having been instructed by Paul, whom they called a renegade, a deserter of the law, while they, Nazarenes, had received the gospel from the mouth of the twelve disciples of Jesus. They hence inferred that their doctrine was the true one, and that the Gentiles had been led into

error by a false apostle. This reasoning would impress many minds. The Acts reported indeed the baptism of the centurion Cornelius by Peter ; but it was at the same time seen that this was a unique example, and that the twelve had always preached Nazarene doctrines without quitting Judea and the contiguous countries. On another side, if Paul had received a mission to evangelise among the Gentiles, his teaching ought none the less to be the same as that of the Apostles instructed by Jesus. Now, it could not be denied that there existed real divergences, that Paul spoke against the law, and went far beyond the bounds of the toleration admitted by the Conference of Jerusalem in regard to Christians of pagan origin. The apostle, it is true, announced that he had received, by a direct revelation from Jesus, the gospel which he preached to the nations. But this assertion was contested by the Nazarenes, who doubtless remarked that Jesus could not have revealed to him a doctrine different from that which he had taught to his primitive disciples. When, then, the habitual reading of the epistle to Clement tended to support the belief that Peter and Paul had together suffered martyrdom in Rome, that opinion was so much the more easily adopted among the Greek Christians, because they found in it a reply to the pretensions of the Nazarenes. They concluded from it that Peter had also preached in their regions, and that his doctrine, identical with that of Paul, did not differ from the beliefs professed by them. Hence resulted the consecration of their theories, and at the same time a greater lustre for their Churches, which at least the most important of them gave it out that they had been established or confirmed by the apostle Peter.

Unfortunately for this system, the sojourn of Peter in Rome, and his journey through Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy can be reconciled neither with the Acts of the Apostles nor with the Epistles of Paul and Peter ; nor can they be reconciled with the absolute silence of the writers of the first century and of the apostolic times. The journeys and the preaching of Peter in those divers lands would have been facts too considerable in the history of the Church for Paul,

or Luke, or any other writer of that time not to have spoken of it directly or indirectly. That silence and the different facts supplied by the Acts, the Epistles, and the other parts of the New Testament, offer then an insurmountable obstacle for every unprejudiced mind. But legends, it is known, pay no regard to difficulties of geography, chronology, or history. They spring up in the rank soil of the multitude, who have no notion, no care about all these things; they live in a world of their own. When criticism came to examine them they were strongly fortified by time; it is often very difficult to discover their origin; more difficult still to efface them from men's hearts. It is only two or three generations after the first Epistle of Clement that we begin to find some traces of the legend on the journey and the death of Peter at Rome; all this time was needful for it to gain a certain consistency. Then the contemporaries of the apostolic men had ceased to exist, and the Nazarenes dispersed, thinly scattered, were for the Platonising Churches only hated heretics who blasphemed the Deity of Christ.

It is commonly thought, on the authority of Eusebius, that it is to Papias that we owe the first mention of the sojourn of Peter in Rome. Were this so, Papias would have been led into the error by the legend still in the way of formation, and which might already have obtained some credit at the time of his death (150). But the bishop of Cesarea seems to have given too much extension to the words of that father. After having said, according to Clement of Alexandria, that Mark, disciple of Peter, wrote his gospel in Rome with the approbation of the apostle, Eusebius adds that the testimony of Clement is supported by that of Papias, (ii. 15) without citing in that place the passage on which his words are founded. The historian had doubtless in view that which he relates further on (iii. 39), according to which, by the report of Papias, John the Presbyter had stated that Mark, *Peter's interpreter*, wrote with much care what he had gathered from the mouth of the apostle, but in presenting the words and the deeds of Christ according to the method adopted by Peter for the use of his hearers and

not in their natural order. Eusebius, reading this passage agreeably to the opinion of his time, inferred from it, as Clement of Alexandria, that this interpreter of Peter was then in Rome, in company with the apostle ; while Papias says, solely, with John the presbyter, that Mark wrote the gospel such as it was taught by Peter. Neither the Presbyter nor Papias, his disciple, speak of sojourn or preaching in the Imperial city. That legend had not commenced during the life of the former, nor was it received before the death of the latter.

Dionysius of Corinth (170-180) is the first author who explicitly speaks of a journey of Peter to Rome. In his Epistle to the Romans, he makes him a companion of Paul (Euseb. ii. 25). "Both," he says, "went to Corinth where they sowed the seed of the evangelical word ; and having set out together for Italy, they there also gave instructions and suffered martyrdom at the same time." No other person mentions this simultaneous sojourn of Peter and Paul at Corinth. Now the departure here mentioned cannot be that which the Acts report, when Paul directed his steps first to Jerusalem, to go afterwards into Italy. It is apparently the passage of the letter of Dionysius which made several suppose that that apostle made a journey from Rome into the Hellenic lands, whence he returned to the banks of the Tiber. However, the journey of the two apostles from Corinth to Rome, guaranteed by Dionysius only, has all the appearance of a popular tale, which had its birth in the first of these two cities. A visit from Peter was an acceptable flattery. It may have grown out of what is said of Cephas in the first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (i. 12). In regard to the common martyrdom of the two apostles in Rome, it is at Corinth especially that the first Epistle of Clement must have given the thought, since it was addressed to the disciples of that city, and since it was publicly read in their meetings.

After Dionysius of Corinth comes Irenæus (177-202), who reports, without detail, that Peter and Paul preached the gospel in Rome and founded the church of that city (iii. 1, 3).

Justin the Martyr, who went from Samaria to Rome in 140 A.D., and died there in 168, announces in a general way that the twelve apostles filled the earth with the glory and the grace of God and of his Christ, but without saying what part their disciples took in the work, without making mention of Paul, who was little famous in Palestine, and whom perhaps he accounted a simple disciple of the twelve, like Barnabas, Silas, and his other co-operators. Any way, this father does not assign to this or that of the primitive apostles any particular region as the plot of ground for his tillage; he does not seem to have known anything of a sojourn in Rome by Peter. This was a legend peculiar to the lands speaking the Greek tongue: undoubtedly it was unknown among the Samaritans; and Justin, in Rome, finds there no indication of it either in men's minds or in monuments. In return, he had brought from his country another legend, which concerned Simon the Magician. This person—whom, in the time of the Apostles, the misled Samaritans venerated as the great virtue of God (Acts viii. 9-11), and who, after a simulated conversion, brought on himself a severe reprimand from Peter—did not submit to the Apostles' word, and continued to deceive the people by his magical tricks. Two ancient works composed by the Ebionites—*The Preaching of Peter*, and *The Travels of Peter*—present that apostle following Simon from city to city, on the coasts of Palestine and Phenicia, to combat his doctrines and disabuse the populations. The magician, it was supposed, had then gone to Rome, as did then the greater number of the heads of philosophic or religious sects. According to Justin, Simon was still worshipped about the middle of the second century by nearly all the inhabitants of Samaria, and by some persons of other nations (1 Apol., 26; Dialog., 120). Justin, arrived at Rome, discovers on an island in the Tiber, between two bridges, a statue, on which were these words: *Semoni Sanco deo Fidio, &c.* It was an image of Semon Sanctus Fidius, God of good faith, the worship of whom had passed from the Sabines to the Romans. Pre-occupied with the idea of the sojourn of Simon the Magician at Rome, and in his ignor-

ance of the Latin mythology, Justin supposes that the author of the inscription meant to write *Simoni Sancto Deo*. Accordingly here for him is a statue raised to Simon the Magician, of Samaria. In his First Apology (150), he cites this inscription as a proof of the presence of Simon at Rome under the Emperor Claudius, and of his magical marvels, which had procured for him divine honours from the senate and the people. Justin asks the prince to undeceive them, and to level with the ground the statue of the impostor. If this passage of the Apology had been known to the Roman polytheists, it would doubtless have amused them greatly. But it was not the same among the Christians; they took things seriously, among others Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Augustin, Theodoret; and the story by Justin gave the report authority down to the end of the sixteenth century. At that time there is discovered among the rubbish in the same island of the Tiber a stone bearing this inscription: *Semoni Sango deo Fideo*. Then Justin's mistake becomes evident. He had taken the god Semon for Simon the Magician. The First Apology of Justin, in spreading among the Christians of the Greek tongue, propagated there the legend of Simon, which, in their eyes, confirms that of the sojourn of Peter at Rome. These two legends soon mingle and confound. Simon then went into Italy, in order to get beyond Peter's attacks in Palestine, and the Apostle followed him into the imperial city to strike off the mask of his artifices.

At the end of the second century, or in the first years of the third, that opinion is fully confirmed by the appearance of the romance of the *Recognitions*, which passes for a real history, and which is ascribed to Clement, one of its heroes and the presumed author of the Epistle to the Corinthians. In that work, all to the honour of Peter, there is, to say the truth, question only of controversies between Simon and himself in Palestine and the contiguous lands; but the magician announces in it his intention of going to Rome, and the Apostle his intention of following him everywhere in order to overwhelm him. Thus it remains certain for

the Greco-Latin Church that Peter, after having struggled in the East against Simon, pursued him to Rome under the reign of the Emperor Claudius. The events of the book are supposed to take place seven years after the death of Jesus. We may suppose that Simon set off after a short interval ; legend puts Peter on the pursuit of him, after his release from prison under Agrippa. The Acts not saying whither he then went, there was an opportunity to send him to Rome in the year 42 or 43. The conflict of Paul and Simon, which was followed by the death of the latter, was at first placed at this same time. Eusebius seems to adhere to this idea (ii. 14, 15). But, later, the opinion took root that the two Apostles perished at the end of Nero's reign (ii. 25) ; and the legend, resolving that their death was a punishment drawn from that of Simon, it was necessary to carry back thither the tragical end of the magician. To harmonise this version with that which took Peter to Rome in the first years of Claudius, he was made to occupy the Episcopal See of that city five-and-twenty years, leaving whoever would or could to remove all the difficulties or impossibilities which stand in the way. While the legend of Peter's sojourn in Rome, and of the death of the two Apostles in that city, was thus under formation among the Greek populations, the Roman Church appears to have prudently kept silent on the question. We do not find in the two first centuries any indication emanating from the members of that Church, any monument in their city which refers to the facts recounted by the legend. The Christians of Rome in the first century were doubtless not ignorant that Peter had never entered their walls. There was no reason for reading among them in the course of the second century, as was done in the bosom of the Greek Churches, the Epistle of Clement, by which the latter were led into error. That epistle, had it been known to the Romans, they would not have misinterpreted to the extent of regarding their city as the extreme west of the Empire, so as to make Paul die there, and to suppose that Peter also there suffered capital punishment ; the letter said nothing of the kind, and no trace is found among them of any such an event.

In reality during the two first centuries you find in Rome no recollection, no monument relative to the death of the two apostles. Justin, in his active curiosity, succeeded in discovering a statue which he made into that of Simon the Magician, but he sees nothing in the Christian cemeteries or elsewhere which could recall the memory of Peter and Paul. No allusion is made by him to Peter's apostolate in that country ; and he seems to hold in small account Paul in regard to whom he perhaps shared the prejudices of the Judeo Christians of Palestine. Irenæus, who visits Rome in 177, speaks also of the pretended idol of Simon, without relating the least testimony to the death of the two apostles. But the legend obtaining prevalence in the sequel, the Romans, flattered by the lustre which it throws on their church, come at last to be persuaded in their turn. Then is it and only then, that monuments arise in the cemeteries of Rome in honour of Peter and Paul. Caius, who lived in the time of bishop Zephyrinus (202-218) is the first author in whom mention is made of it. "I can show," says he, "the trophies (*ta tropaea*) of the apostles. For, if you go to the Vatican or on the Ostian Way, you come upon the trophies of those who founded this Church." But trophies in honour of the apostles do not imply that they themselves died in Rome, nor that their bodies lie under such monuments, although in the same chapter Eusebius seems to draw that consequence. After having in effect said that it is at Rome that Peter was crucified and Paul decapitated under the reign of Nero, he adds that this history is confirmed by the inscription of the names of the two apostles which are still seen in the cemeteries of that city ; and in support of that opinion he cites the passage of Caius which we have just given. Evidently he makes the latter say more than its words involve. Eusebius, who never saw Rome, may in good faith have made a mistake here, misled by the legend which was then accounted veritable history. But Caius says solely that there were in the Vatican or on the Via Ostia trophies in honour of the two apostles who were accounted the founders of the Church of Rome. The inscription of the names of Peter and Paul on these monu-

ments, without date and which are not mentioned by either Irenæus, or Justin, or Clement of Rome, or any author of the two first centuries, proves nothing else than at the Epoch when they were raised the legend was accepted by the Romans. The version of Eusebius on the nature of these monuments was doubtless current in the Hellenic lands, and it is possible that at Rome, even they also believed afterwards that the trophies contained the mortal remains of the two apostles. In posterior ages the legendary recitals will undertake themselves to assure us that these remains were not there. Meanwhile it is to be remarked that Eusebius uses great discretion in what he says whether on the death of the two apostles, or on the sojourn of Peter at Rome. Most often he speaks according to other authors, whose passages he takes care to cite (ii. 13, 14, 15 ; iii. 1) when he testifies in his own name he employs forms more or less dubitative such as it is said, they think, &c. This reserve is easily understood, it was his only means for harmonising the belief of the bishop with the conscience of the historian. All the world then gave credit to the Peter legend. Origen and the other fathers of the third century had in great part adopted the narrative of the Apocryphal books. Whatever his own thought, Eusebius had too much prudence to contradict the common opinion of his Church ; but, as historian, he could not deny the unlikelihood of these divers accounts : hence the precautions of his style in the narrative of the last years of the two apostles. The legend however will grow from age to age and marvellous additions will be made in the ages which will follow the incursions of the barbarians. We shall return to the point in its proper place.

The eleven colleagues of Peter in the apostolate did not any more escape from the zeal of the legends. They have been exercised on them as on all the other personages of the New Testament. But the greater part of the stories was not yet born or accredited in the age of the Council of Nice ; they will triumph only in posterior periods. Let us endeavour to distinguish here those which were already current under the reign of Constantine. According to

Eusebius, Peter, before going to Rome, had preached to the Jews dispersed in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the provinces of Asia; but we are far from the universal apostolate which at a latter day was bestowed on that apostle. To the apostle John, confounded with the Presbyter of Ephesus, the province of Asia is ascribed although that country was converted by Paul, who had dwelt in it until his departure for Jerusalem and Rome (v. 9), without coming there on the least trace of the son of Zebedee. The same Eusebius assigns (iii. 1) to Thomas Parthia as his circle of duty; to Andrew Scythia (at a later time a cross is raised in Achaia for Andrew), Bartholomew carried the gospel of Matthew into the Indies (v. 10), Thaddeus instructed Abgarus, King of Edessa (i. 13). There at the time of Constantine the work of the legends on the primitive apostles seems to come to a standstill. It will complete itself in after-times. Then we shall be told toward what regions each of them directed his steps; we shall be informed even of the epoch fixed for their general departure, for before they separate they are made to draw up a symbol, called the apostles', which they go forth to preach in all countries; further we shall be told what was their success, their trials, and their death.

Clement of Alexandria reports (Euseb. iii. 30) that a number of the apostles were married, among others Peter and Philip, who had children. He declares that Paul, under the name of sisters designated the wives of the apostles, and that he for his part preferred not to take his in his travels. Clement also relates the martyrdom of Peter's wife, who, seeing him led to execution, rejoiced and shouted "Wife, remember the Lord!" In the sequel we shall be spoken to about the daughter of that same apostle who will be named Petronilla. The obscurity which hangs over the life of the twelve is equally met with in regard to the first disciples whether of Jesus or the apostles. A number of fables, the greater part of which seem to have been unknown in the time of Eusebius, have been published in connection with them. Whatever the source of the tradition on the relations of Peter and Mark the evangelist, its

legendary character discloses itself by that which it says of the one and the other, and by its contradictions on the place, the time, the method of the drawing up of the second gospel. According to Papias, John the Presbyter ascribed that gospel to Mark, a disciple of Peter, but without saying that it was put together at Rome (Eus. iii. 39). Irenæus, while agreeing to recognise that Mark, disciple and interpreter of Peter, wrote it according to the preaching of that apostle, adds that its composition took place after the death of Peter and of Paul, that is after the year 68 (Eus. v. 8). Clement of Alexandria thinks that it was written by Mark at Rome on the request of the disciples, and that Peter approved the book that it might be read in the Churches. In another part Eusebius (ii. 24) and Jerome (De Script.) say that Mark died in the eighth year of Nero (62).

The legend on Peter having, in the divers phases of its formation, varied as to the time of that apostle's going to Rome, on the duration of his sojourn there, on the date of his conflict with Simon, the magician, and on that of the death of both, analogous variations were naturally produced in regard to Mark, whom the legendists conduct into the capital of the empire in his presumed quality of disciple and interpreter of Peter. In reality, whoever was the author of the second gospel he cannot have visited Rome after Peter, for Peter was never there. In regard to the sojourn of Mark in Egypt and of the foundation by him of the Church of Alexandria, Eusebius speaks of it as only a report (ii. 16), and on that occasion, he ascribes to the evangelist the establishment of the Therapeutæ, which, according to Philo's account, would be long anterior to Christianity. There is every appearance, we have said, that neither Mark nor any Nazarene carried the gospel into Egypt, a land of Jewish schismatics. The journeys and the preachings of Mark, whether in that country or with Peter in Rome, are mere legends, the same as all the histories which have been put forth on the twelve apostles. Eusebius says with reason for the disciples of the latter, that it is difficult to know which of them were put at the head of churches founded by their

masters ; scarcely do we know as disciples more than those that are spoken of in Paul's Epistles ; that is, Timothy, who was the first to preside over the Church of Ephesus ; Titus, who governed the churches of the Isle of Crete ; Luke, the presumed author of the Acts and the third gospel ; Crescens, whom Paul sent into Cisalpine Gaul ; Linus, who was made the first bishop of Rome after Peter ; Clement, who is supposed to have been the third ; Dionysius, the Areopagite, who, according to Dionysius of Corinth, was the first to direct the Church of Athens. But it is easy to see that some of these Episcopates are purely hypothetic, and that those which were real had not the character which in later ages was attributed to Episcopal functions. The successions of bishops that have been transmitted for the first century, and even for the first third of the second, rest on evident fictions. According to Eusebius the Church of Rome, governed at first by Peter and Paul, had afterwards for bishops, Linus, of whom we have spoken (68-82), Anacletus (82-90), Clement (90-99), Euaristes (99-105), Alexander (105-116), Xystus (116-126), Telesphorus (126-137), Hyginus (137-141). The truth is that Peter never appeared in Rome, that Paul remained there two years a prisoner, without being a bishop, that Linus, Anacletus, and Clement may be counted in the number of the heads of that church in the first century, but not as exercising episcopal authority there, such as it became in the second half of the second century. It is only with Telesphorus (126-137) or Hyginus, that the succession of the bishops of Rome begins to be more distinctly known. History knows even very little of their successors before the third century. More reliance cannot be placed on what is recounted by the first bishops of the other principal cities (Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem). According to a tradition related by Eusebius, but contradicted by the *Acts of the Apostles*, Peter was the founder of the Church of Antioch. After him it had successively for heads, Euodius, Ignatius, and divers others down to Theophilus, whose ascent to power has for date 170. Ignatius is the only one of his predecessors who has left some trace in ecclesiastical history. The episcopate of Mark in

Alexandria is, as we have said, altogether legendary. One may believe that it is the same with the majority of the successors given to him during the first century and the greater part of the second. It is only at the time of Pantenus and Clement that we find ideas any way exact on the Greek Church of that city. Before him it had thrown out little lustre. Gnosticism bore sway in those regions.

Similar uncertainty reigns over the episcopate of the first Church in Jerusalem. Eusebius (iv. 5) reckons fifteen bishops of Israelite origin who directed it from the death of Jesus to the dispersion of the Jews by Hadrian (135), but he knows nothing of most of them, and his nomenclature seems purely hypothetical. The primitive Church of Jerusalem was, to say the truth, only a synagogue of Nazarenes, who believed in the Messiahship of Jesus, while observing the precepts of the law of Moses. We have already put before the reader the narratives of the legends on James, the Lord's brother, who passes for the first bishop of that city. The legends have been equally busy on the personages of Symeon, who is set down as his successor. Eusebius reports, as a traditional rumour, that after the death of James, and the capture of Jerusalem, which soon followed, the apostles and the disciples, in agreement with the relatives of the Lord, elected Symeon, son of Cleopas, who, it is said, was first cousin to Jesus. Hegesippus, completing the legend, makes Symeon suffer martyrdom under Trajan. After him, as circumcised bishops of Jerusalem, comes one named righteous and a dozen other personages not less unknown. After the re-establishment of that city under the name of Aelia, the Christians, who inhabit it, are of the Greek Church, the abode of Aelia being interdicted to the Nazarenes in their quality of Jews.

Pontius Pilate played a part too considerable in the passion of Christ not to draw on himself the attention of legend. Its influence is seen in what Justin Martyr tells of an account sent by that procurator to Tiberius on the miracles and the resurrection of Jesus, as well as on the desire entertained by that emperor of placing Jesus in the rank of the gods, a desire which met with opposition from

the Senate. Eusebius moreover reports, on the faith of Greek authors, that Pilate fell into extreme misfortunes under Caligula and was reduced to commit suicide, thus becoming the avenger of his own crimes. Such are the most important narratives which circulated under the Emperor Constantine. But in posterior ages, whether during the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh century, the principal period of the pagan admixture, or during the middle ages, a multitude of other fables were spread abroad respecting the personages of the first Christian ages, and were propagated in apocryphal writings, martyrologies, lives of saints, and other works of the same nature. We shall, in the following books, have occasion to speak of these histories and many others—the reveries of monks or of distracted persons eagerly collected by the superstition of the Lower Empire* and the credulous ignorance of the nations the West.

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